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Near East & South Asia

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Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-010

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Kenya's Renewal of Diplomatic Ties Analyzed
44000219 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in
English 27 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Menachem Shalev, Post Diplomatic Correspondent: "Nairobi's Friendship Helped by Moves of PLO and Libya"]

[Text] Much of the credit for Kenya's resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel must go to the PLO and to Libya, according to Joel Peters, a Hebrew University expert on Israel-Africa relations.

Commenting on Kenya's decision, Peters noted that country had cited PLO recognition of Israel as its justification for re-establishing relations. This "excuse," he said, has replaced the previous African justification, which cited Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

Togo, which resumed relations over a year ago, still cited the Egyptian peace with Israel, despite the fact that six years had elapsed since an Egyptian ambassador arrived here.

Peters said that Kenya, like other African states, looks to Israel for assistance in the organization of its internal security forces and for advice on combating terrorism and safeguarding borders.

Kenya has recently been plagued by border skirmishes with Uganda and with what it describes as Libyan subversion and support for dissident groups, as well as with internal unrest. Like Zaire and Liberia, Kenya seeks to benefit from Israeli expertise in handling security problems, Peters said. A Kenyan military delegation and the head of Kenya's intelligence services visited Israel in recent weeks.

Kenya—again, like many other countries—believes that relations with Israel can also help to improve its image in the United States. The East African country has come under mounting criticism in Washington for its treatment of political opponents and a special Amnesty International report released last year scored Nairobi's treatment of political opponents.

Kenya has maintained close economic ties with Israel, second in Africa only to Nigeria, despite the 1973 rupture of relations. But one of the factors preventing it from resuming relations until now was the hope that a lucrative import-export market could be created with the Arab Middle East and Gulf countries. This has failed to materialize, as imports from these countries dropped in the past two years from 30 to 18 per cent of all Kenyan imports, and exports account for only 1-2 per cent of all Kenya exports.

Peters, whose doctorate and upcoming book deal with Israel-Africa relations, says that African countries do not have a coordinated policy regarding resumption of relations, but that each country acts in accordance with its own interests. He does not believe that Kenya's decision will create a "mass movement" toward renewal of diplomatic ties. He lists Senegal, Guinea and possibly other East African countries as next in line.

Nigeria, which hosts many Israeli companies, has signalled its willingness to renew relations, but must always take into account internal political considerations created by its Muslim-north and Christian-south division. Nigeria has also been the sharpest critic of Israel's ties with South Africa.

REGIONAL

Third Party Tries To Restore Egyptian-Iranian Relations

45000076 Paris *AL-MUSTAQBAL* in Arabic
31 Dec 88 p 6

[Report by Iman Rashid]

[Text] An Arab party with "good" relations with Cairo and Tehran has recently started the process of "taking the pulse" of Egyptian officials regarding the possibility of resuming severed diplomatic relations between Egypt and Iran and the "probabilities" of this happening. The Egyptian side sent this Arab party the following letter: "Egypt is prepared to resume diplomatic relations with Iran immediately if Iranian-Iraqi negotiations lead to the signing of a peace agreement, and if the Iranian authorities release the thousands of Egyptian prisoners held in Iran for their participation in the war alongside the Iraqis." The Arab party forwarded the Egyptian letter to Tehran and is awaiting the Iranian reply.

Iraq To Stop Exporting Crude Oil From 'Aqabah

44000251 Amman *JORDAN TIMES* in English
25 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Baghdad (J.T.)—Iraq has decided to stop exporting its crude oil via 'Aqabah as of the beginning of the new year, but will continue to export oil products through the Jordanian Red Sea Port, according to AL RA'I Arabic daily Saturday.

The paper quoted Iraqi Minister of Oil 'Abd al-Rahim al-Shalabi as saying the move was taken in implementation of resolutions taken by Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to export oil in accordance with the OPEC's quota and in view of the fact that Iraq was now involved in preparing its own ports for oil exports.

At present, work is underway to supply Iraqi crude to the Jordan Petroleum Refinery Company in Zarqa by trucks, but that an idea to lay a pipeline to carry crude oil from Iraqi oil fields to 'Aqabah has been cancelled, Al-Shalabi said.

Under a contract signed between the Jordan Ports Corporation (JPC) and Iraq; the latter is bound to export 7,000 tonnes of its crude oil via 'Aqabah on a daily basis and the contract expires on April 30, 1989, according to JPC Director General 'Id al-Fayiz.

Al-Fayiz said that some \$20 million worth of installations and wharfs had been set up in 'Aqabah to help carry out the deal, and many private and public organisations have bought a total of 1700 fuel tanker trucks to transport crude oil from Iraqi oil fields to 'Aqabah for export.

He added that the ring road around the city of 'Aqabah was built partially to help maintain the flow of oil-laden trucks from Iraq to the port.

In September, Al-Fayiz made a statement in which he said 'Aqabah will remain an essential outlet offering service of paramount importance to Iraq despite the end of the Gulf conflict.

He said that the port city will continue to handle Iraqi imports and exports to help in the process of reconstruction and development in Iraqi regions especially those affected during the eight-year war.

"The end of the Gulf war will by no means end the usefulness of 'Aqabah Port for Iraq; and 'Aqabah will continue to serve as a main port for Iraqi goods over the coming years," Al-Fayiz added.

Al-Fayiz said the port has embarked on a reconstruction plan for its infrastructure to absorb and handle additional amounts of Iraqi products and will soon begin exporting Iraqi sulphur and phosphate.

According to Al-Fayiz, the present number of trucks commuting between 'Aqabah and Baghdad is 12,500 with the port city receiving 800 to 1,000 trucks on a daily basis, altogether transporting up to 35,000 tonnes of goods.

Opportunity for Japanese-Gulf States Alliance Discussed

44040108 Kuwait *AL-QABAS* in Arabic 9 Nov 88 p 17

[Article by Wa'il al-Mazidi: "A 'Last Golden Opportunity' for Developing a Strategic Alliance With Japan Faces the Gulf Countries"]

[Text] The writer Bruce Nussbaum in his book "The World after Oil," says "Among all the peoples of the world, the Japanese are making the fastest transition to the society of the 21st century which advanced technology will dominate, and the amazing growth and tremendous dynamism, at a time when most countries of the Third World and Europe and most of the United States are experiencing stagnation, have led to a major transformation in the center of gravity of economic power in the world which will have the effect of creating a transformation of no less importance in the world balance of power. Japan today is the center of an economic hurricane which is passing beyond the Pacific, and the societies which are witnessing a great leap in development, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore, and perhaps even the West Coast of the United States, are rallying around it. This Japanese commercial weight is of a power which no one except America, to a limited extent, will be able to confront in the near future. Europe is simply not in the game and will not be for the rest of this century."

The Arab Gulf countries must turn the orientation of their economies from dependence on the West to orientation toward the Asian Pacific Ocean as part of an alliance which will enable the Gulf countries, in their capacity as productive, energy-exporting investment countries in addition to their role as givers of aid, to play a role in oil cooperation for the countries of Pacific Asia and consequently to benefit from the progress the region will witness, which sooner or later will yield its fruit for the whole Arab region.

Japan has many incentives for cooperating with the countries of the Arab Gulf. While the United States and the European market continue their efforts to reduce reliance on Arab oil in general, Japan, conversely, will continue its great reliance on Gulf oil.

With respect to Japan, the Gulf countries will remain a long-term source it will rely upon to supply it with more than half its oil requirements. The opening of the gates to the national oil companies to obtain a share of the Japanese refining market will work to strengthen the relationship in the area of energy and will guarantee the security of supplies for Japan as well as reduce price fluctuations over the long run.

It is certain that more cooperation between the two groups in setting out the bases for a new oil pricing system will support the ideological premises of the status of the yen in the Asia-Pacific area and will lead to further internationalization of the Japanese currency.

Common activity in the fields of trade, technology, money, and production are the responsibility of the Arabs and Japan so they may reap common gains and transcend the negative features which limit the convergence of their mutual interests.

The absence of Arab economic integration and the granting of predominance to regional interests have resulted in harm to Arab development, and the Arabs, except during the fifties and sixties, have failed to formulate a concept of unified development. As a result, the Arabs have lost many opportunities for real development and progress which have not been exploited or used, and these elements have led to the Arab countries' failure to catch up to the cavalcade of development the advanced countries have realized.

The Arab world today finds itself at a crossroads, one road headed toward the Asia Pacific basin, which is the most dynamic region, the one whose motive force is considered to be Japan, and consequently the attainment of prosperity over the long range; and the other the road of remaining in the present stage of stagnation and external polarization toward the West and therefore disappearance into the gloom of history.

A wave of technology is sweeping our world today whose features have not taken solid form following the expansion of the gaps in wealth among the different groups of

countries. In these transformations, technology and the information revolution will take the place of oil as the most valuable commodity in the world and with time the importance of the Arabs' sole export commodity, which is oil, will diminish. It has now come to constitute just 11 percent of total world trade while its share was not less than 25 percent in 1979. The world today is headed toward a period distinguished by the proliferation of energy sources in which it will witness a decline in the share of oil, which at present constitutes 45 percent of world energy requirements, to a level close to that of the other major sources of energy.

Now that we have entered the post-oil period, the Arabs must now take the initiative, while the opportunities still exist, to use revenues from oil to create strategic alliances which will guarantee a better future in the coming century, in an era in which technology, the commodity the Arabs do not possess, will dominate.

What aggravates the situation is that the Arabs have not so far succeeded in managing to assimilate the prevailing economic and technological conditions, and they perhaps face a final opportunity to use the oil weapon not to harm the interests of the consumer countries but to create strategic alliances with those remaining countries which still have common alliances with them.

Such an alliance will have the effect of supporting stability in the other oil markets situated in the Pacific basin, and this approach will meet with a greater response from the countries situated in this region. In addition, it will support the Arabs' credibility in world public opinion.

We must wait to note whether the Arabs will exert any effort to seize the opportunities they have lost in the past. It has started to become mandatory that they realize where their national interests lie, and the countries of the Arab Gulf, specifically, face a golden opportunity, perhaps the last one, to develop a strategic alliance with Japan. These countries must try, bilaterally or collectively, to build policies in this direction. It is within the range of possibility that the opportunities that exist today between the two blocs, if they are exploited, will lead to the growth of a strategic alliance which will help define the future course of the two groups in the coming century and work to provide greater stability and prosperity for the world economy.

At present there is a large amount of mutual dependence between the two groups which has not received adequate serious treatment by the two parties as far as ways of working to give it a long-term dimension and make use of it in their favor are concerned.

The Arabs and Japan in the World Economy

Japan has come to stand out today as a giant financial and economic power, and Tokyo has assumed its position alongside London and New York as a first class

financial center, perhaps even outstripping them in some areas. Japan today has become the greatest creditor and investment country with foreign assets of close to \$240 billion at the end of 1987. Tokyo's has become the greatest stock exchange in the world, having outstripped the American stock market in its volume of capital, which came to \$2.7 trillion in 1988. In addition, 7 of the 10 biggest banks in the world are Japanese. On top of that, the Tokyo financial market has bypassed New York in the size of balance of foreign assets, becoming the second biggest market after London. Since 1986 Japan has been occupying first place in all the lists of financial solvency in effect in the world lending and investment markets, reflecting investors' confidence in its future financial status.

Japan has become the second economic power after the United States and some economic predictions have gone so far as to state that Japan will bypass the United States as the biggest economic power in the world in the next 10 years. Indeed, Japan has started to lead the world in a number of advanced technological areas such as electronics, laser communications, light metals, and so forth.

In reality, many people, including many Japanese, have not yet become aware of the status Japan has attained. Those who are aware of this fact avoid acknowledging it because it leads to consequences of greater international responsibilities in the political and economic contexts.

Japanese Exports and Imports (Billions of Dollars)

| | Japanese Exports | | | Japanese Imports | | |
|----------------|------------------|------|------------------|------------------|------|------------------|
| | 1985 | 1986 | Percent of Total | 1985 | 1986 | Percent of Total |
| Arab countries | 11.0 | 8.8 | 4.2 | 27.7 | 17.7 | 13.9 |
| Gulf countries | 7.6 | 5.6 | 2.7 | 26.1 | 15.2 | 12.0 |

Table showing the volume of Arab-Japanese trade during the years 1985 and 1986, in billions of dollars. Source: International Monetary Fund.

The Arab Gulf Countries Are a Tremendous Energy Reserve

The Gulf region is considered the most important oil-exporting area in the world, accounting for one-third of world oil exports. The region has 45 percent of known world oil reserves, according to estimates. Most of these can be produced at a cost much lower than oil production in other areas, and there is enough oil for use in the coming century and even the 22nd century if advanced technology is employed in enhanced oil production.

Consequently, for the foreseeable future the region will remain the most prominent of the world's areas whose economies depend on oil, but it is necessary to stress that what happens in the Gulf will remain the object of the world's attention as long as oil retains its role as the most important energy source.

The Arab-Japanese Relationship in the Eighties

The Arab-Japanese relationship is focussed on trade, and although the capital flows between the two groups are constantly increasing, a large portion of these represents Arab financial investments in the Japanese money market.

The value of Japan's exports to the Arab world hovered around \$8.8 billion in 1986, while Arab exports to Japan (three quarters of which are oil) came to \$17.7 billion that year. The Arab world is one of the few regions with which Japan faces a deficit in the balance of commodity trade. It appears as if this is compensation for the

paucity of Japanese direct investments in the Arab world as compared with Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development country investments.

The Arab Gulf countries' exports represent the major share of total Arab exports to Japan, and the value of Japanese exports to the Arab Gulf countries in 1986 came to \$5.6 billion as compared with the \$15.2 billion which represented the value of Japanese imports from these countries.

Japan in the eighties has relied on the Arab Gulf countries for close to 60 percent of its crude oil needs, while Japan in exchange has exported all the goods it produces to Gulf markets, including cars, consumer goods, electronics, machinery, technical fixtures, metal products, metals, and clothing.

The Arab Gulf countries are considered commercial partners with a great degree of importance to Japan, and trade with the Arab Gulf countries represented 6.4 percent of Japan's total trade with the world, as compared with 2 percent for the United States, 2.2 percent for the United Kingdom and 0.9 percent for West Germany.

Three main factors affect the commercial relationship between Japan and the Arab world:

1. The drop in oil prices and the connection between that and oil exports to Japan.

2. The final completion of most infrastructure projects in the Gulf.

3. The negative effect of fluctuations in the exchange rates on Japanese exports to the region (which is the most important factor).

Japanese exports to the Arab Gulf countries constitute about 3 percent of its total world exports (4 percent in the case of the whole Arab world), in comparison with 13 percent in 1984, and Arab oil exports to Japan have also witnessed a declining trend.

In spite of the contraction in flows of trade, Japan is still considered categorically the biggest exporter in the region, since its products absorbed more than 15 percent of Arab Gulf country markets in 1986, while in comparison American products' share of the Gulf market came to 13.6 percent, followed by the United Kingdom in terms of importance, then Italy and Germany.

Japan's share of Gulf markets varies from one country to another. It comes to about 24 percent in the case of Kuwait. Japan has succeeded in penetrating the Gulf consumer markets and Japanese products command a share of close to 70 percent of the electronics and electric equipment market in the Arab Gulf countries and a share of no less than 80 percent of the automobile market in these countries.

However, Japan's continued possession of the main share of the Gulf area markets is threatened because of the decline in the value of the American dollar, the currency in which oil is priced, to which all Gulf currencies are connected in one form or another.

The dollar has declined by close to 50 percent compared with the yen since March 1985, and a steep decline has resulted in the Gulf oil exporting countries' buying power which is reflected in import patterns. It is possible to discern a perceptible shift in the Arab Gulf countries' import tendencies in the direction of importers whose economies are measured in dollars.

Although most industrial countries' exports to the region have witnessed a decline since the beginning of the oil price drop, the fluctuations in exchange rates have led to diverse effects. The effect of the drop on Gulf imports from Japan has been more severe, with a decline of 26 percent calculated in dollars and 47 percent calculated in yen, in comparison with a drop of no more than 15 percent in the Gulf countries' exports from the American market.

Japan commands more than 30 percent of Gulf oil exports compared with 25 percent for the European market and 7 percent for the United States, and it is consequently the greatest Gulf oil export market.

The Writer, in a Few Lines

Wa'il Faysal al-Mazidi works with the Kuwait Petroleum Organization in the planning department. He lived in Japan in 1984-85 while working as an engineer in the Kuwait National Petroleum Company. He took part in the activities of the First Arab-Japanese Energy Conference in Tokyo in December 1984, and represented Kuwait in the Arab-Japanese Conference on Computer Sciences and Communications in Tokyo in March 1986. His writings include a book which will be published in London next year entitled "The Arab Gulf and Asia-Pacific: The Birth of a Powerful New Axis."

He received his university education in the United Kingdom where he received a bachelor's degree in applied chemistry and control engineering from Kent University. He also has a diploma of higher studies in petroleum economics from the Faculty of Petroleum Studies at Oxford and is a member of the national technology transfer committee.

Arab Defense Expenditures Discussed

44040132 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
27 Nov 88 pp 7, 15

[Article by Dr Husayn 'Umar Tawqah: "Defense Expenditures and Weapon Deals in Arab Homeland"]

[Text] If we tried to calculate the Arab defense expenditures since the onset of this decade, i.e., since 1980, we would be overwhelmed by the vast sums of money spent in this regard.

Let us examine together the following table which shows the sums of money spent by the Arab countries under the defense expenditures provision. Let us then analyze these figures and see how they have been spent and what has been purchased in return.

| Year | Arab Defense Expenditures | Israeli Armament Expenditures |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1980 | \$35 billion | \$5 billion |
| 1981 | \$43 billion | \$5.6 billion |
| 1982 | \$50 billion | \$6.8 billion |
| 1983 | \$38 billion | \$4.9 billion |
| 1984 | \$54 billion | \$5.7 billion |
| 1985 | \$53 billion | \$4.2 billion |
| 1986 | \$47 billion | \$5.3 billion |
| 1987 | \$46.5 billion | \$5.1 billion |
| Total | \$366.5 billions | \$42.6 billions |

Through this table, we find that the Arab states' defense expenditures are eightfold the Israeli armament expenditures. If we add up the Arab world's population, we would find that it exceeds 95 million people, compared to an Israeli population of less than 4 million. The Arab

armies have more than 2.7 million troops whereas under ordinary circumstances, the Israeli Army has 104,000 troops. In a state of general mobilization, this figure rises to 598,000 troops.

The Arab armies have more than 18,000 tanks, compared to 3,900 tanks in Israel. The Arabs have nearly 20,000 troop transport vehicles compared to 6,300 troop transport vehicles in Israel. Moreover, the Arab side has 3,200 fighter planes compared to 676 Israeli fighter planes.

Questions Raised

We can go on with this comparison and can continue to enumerate the aspects of Arab superiority. But in this kind of numerical comparison, we often miss the true answer to many of the questions concerning the degree of the strategic leadership's capability at the political and military levels. We analyze the aspect concerning the organizational and command capabilities of the forces using these weapons. Consequently, we [fail to] take into consideration the important role played by the various elements of society's infrastructure in determining such a society's material military strength and also [fail to take into consideration] international relations and the important role they play in bolstering military capabilities and providing them with a convenient general strategic framework for using these capabilities effectively, i.e., "securing external maneuverability" and insuring that the enemy's allies are neutralized, at least militarily.

The purpose behind reviewing these figures is to give the Arab reader a simple idea of the vast figures and enormous costs that saddle the Arab governments' budgets. We are not about to analyze here the military balance between the Arab countries and the external sources of danger surrounding them. Nor are we about to give our imagination free reign to ponder what these monies could accomplish if spent on social, agricultural, and economic projects. The objective is to shed light on the weapons-producing countries who are the beneficiaries of the weapons exports to our Arab world.

If, for the sake of the argument, we assume that each, the United States, France, and Britain imposes restrictions on the sale of sophisticated weapons to the Arab countries on the pretext that such sales may upset the military balance between Israel and the Arab countries, then why don't the friendly countries, led by the Soviet Union, sell the Arabs sophisticated weapons that guarantee the Arabs the ability to defend their territories and regain their rights?

Despite the publications, pamphlets and statistics that place the Arab countries atop the weapons-purchasing and importing countries, the objective of this study is to confirm that the difference between Arab armament and Israeli armament is a qualitative and technological, not numerical, difference. This is what gives the Israeli soldier the upper hand and superiority on the battlefield.

To be completely frank, Israel gets the best and most sophisticated and dangerous weapons, consisting mostly of offensive weapons, whereas the Arab countries get less sophisticated weapons with a lesser combat efficiency. These weapons consist mainly of conventional weapons made for defensive purposes.

If we ask ourselves about the usefulness of continuing to purchase this type of weapon and about the other alternatives, the question will lead us to the crux of this topic, namely technological subservience. More than one scenario may arise regarding the concept of subservience. Does subservience mean purchasing weapons from one specific source or does it mean succumbing to conditions imposed on the use of the weapons? If we consider our Arab world, we would find that some Arab states purchase weapons from the Eastern Bloc, some from the Western Bloc and some from both blocs and from all markets. Logic, all logic, emphasizes that the only way to break away from armament subservience is to begin Arab industrialization and to create an Arab technological base. This is what we will discuss in detail in future chapters.

Arms Deals

Let us turn to weapons deals in the international arena where the Third World countries have been classified according to the quantities of weapons they import and to the prices they pay to get the weapons. The weapons Syria, Libya, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, Algeria, Morocco, Jordan, and Kuwait have purchased and imported amount to 53.9 percent the weapons purchased by the [Third World] countries, which means that 10 Arab countries purchase one half the volume of the weapons available in the world markets. If we add to this the recent Tornado deal between Saudi Arabia and Britain, the Chinese-Saudi weapons deals, and Iraq's expenditures in the past 2 years, we would find that the percentage rises to 65 percent of the volume of weapons [available].

But if we consider the other side of the weapons equation and ask what countries benefit from the world weapons trade and what is the percentage of each of these countries' sales in the past 5 years, we would discover these facts, according to the following table:

| Number | Country | Percentage of Weapons Sold |
|--------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Soviet Union | 37.1 |
| 2 | United States | 29.1 |
| 3 | France | 11.1 |
| 4 | Britain | 4.8 |
| 5 | Accredited Countries | 6.7 |
| 6 | Italy | 4.4 |
| 7 | Third World Countries | 3.6 |
| 8 | FRG | 3.1 |

A statistical report by the Stockholm International Peace Studies Institute shows that weapon imports and purchases in the Third World are as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Middle Eastern Countries | 50.8 percent. |
| Africa | 16.7 percent. |
| Latin America | 13.5 percent. |
| South Asia | 10.1 percent. |
| Far East | 8.9 percent. |

If we tried to learn what percentage of Soviet weapons the various Arab countries purchase, we would find that Syria purchases 15 percent, Libya 14 percent, India 9 percent, and Iraq 8 percent.

As for the United States, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia purchases a total of 12 percent of the U.S. weapons exports, which is the highest percentage in the world, followed by Japan which purchases nearly 11 percent, then by Israel which purchases 8 percent, and then by Egypt which purchases 6 percent of the U.S. weapons exports.

The above shows that the primary beneficiary of the Arab countries' weapon needs is the Soviet Union, followed by the United States, and then followed, as have already shown in a previous chart, by France, Britain, Italy, the FRG, and Third World countries such as the PRC and Brazil.

We wonder: Is it sensible for these countries to truly try to end the Arab-Israeli conflict or the Iraq-Iran war when these wars are tantamount to the hen laying the golden egg for them and their interests?

The greater common denominator binding the major powers and even many of the weapons-producing countries is their consensus to exploit war to achieve material gains and profits and to supply the war furnace with all the means and methods possible. Since the start of the [Iraq-Iran] war, various sources have continually supplied the combatants with all kinds of weapons as if the world has agreed to destroy the two countries and to drain their resources and wealth.

Iran has received weapons from Cuba, North Korea, and Czechoslovakia. The United States capitulated to the Iranian blackmail and permitted Israel to sell Iran spareparts and munitions. In 1984, the United States also supplied Iran with advanced Hawk missile batteries. At the same time, the United States permitted Iran to be supplied with antitank TOW missiles and with large quantities of antiaircraft Stinger missiles. It is said that the United States supplied these missiles to the Afghan fighters who then supplied them to Iran as a result of Iran's sympathy for their cause and its support for their revolution against the Soviet Union.

The sale of weapons has not been confined to the two superpowers. The PRC has also gotten involved in arms sales. By virtue of its use of the same types of Soviet weapons and Soviet defense systems, the PRC found in the Gulf war a market in which to sell various weapons, spareparts, artillery weapons, equipment, and munitions. The PRC has sold Iraq 12 G-8 aircraft fitted with radar and with good firing systems and spareparts for TU-16 and TU-22 [missile] launchers. It has also sold Iraq 800 (T-59 and T-69) tanks and a number of missile launchers. The PRC's sales are estimated at \$2 billion.

The PRC has, at the same time, sold Iran 200 (T-59 and T-69) tanks, in addition to missile launchers, Howitzers, immense quantities of light weapons, and 60 F-6 planes which have characteristics similar to those of the Soviet MiG-19. The PRC has also sold Iran Silkworm missiles by way of North Korea. The value of PRC weapons sold to Iran is estimated at \$1.6 billion.

Iran ranks second behind the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in weapon purchases from Britain. Britain has supplied Iran with varied radar equipment produced by Marconi and Plessey Companies in addition to supplying it with Landrover vehicles and spareparts for Chieftain tanks.

France has supplied Iraq with spareparts and munitions for Mirage F-1 planes and with Exocet missiles. At the same time, France supervises the construction of major development projects in Iran.

The FRG has supplied Iraq and Iran with thousands of transport vehicles and big Mercedes trucks.

Italy has supplied Iran with missile launchers, guns, and munitions. Spain has marketed light weapons, equipment, and munitions. Romania has supplied Iraq with towed G.H.N-45 guns and with 155-mm Howitzers. At the same time, Brazil and Argentina have sold Iran various kinds of bombs, explosives, and light weapons.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Refugee Camp Residents Discuss Intifadah

Jarash Camp Residents Express Views

44040115 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
6 Nov 88 pp 25-26

[Text] Before entering Ghazzah Camp which guards the martyrs of the forest battle (1971), one observes a minute's silence in mourning for the Arab reality and in

reverence for the souls of the martyrs who "sleep" under the shade of the trees of Dibbin and 'Ajlun forests. Upon entering this ghetto into which the residents of Gaza were squeezed after 1967 so that they may remain far from the other Palestinian camps, one is surprised by a sharp question addressed by an elder to the Palestinian leadership with utter simplicity and spontaneity:

Brother, before you ask about the Intifadah, ask about what has happened to us. Do you think that this Intifadah is the first in our people's history? No people have perhaps made as many sacrifices and staged as many rebellions as our people. But from the outset, the Palestinian people have been kept in the dark about what is happening. Our people have made sacrifices, motivated by their sense of national duty. But they never knew the details of what was going around them.

The elder added: You have said that they were ignorant at the time. But now that our people have the highest education rate, what can you tell them?

The elder went on to dictate to me emphatically and resolutely:

Write on my behalf: If the United States knows what is going on in the arena, if the Soviet Union is fully aware of the course of the events and if the Arab regimes and their intelligence agencies are aware of what is going on, then why don't our leaders reveal the game's cards to us so that we may be aware of what is going on around us and may be able to determine our enemies and so that the Palestinian people may not continue to be the last to know?

"I am not accusing the Palestinian leadership. On the contrary, I fully appreciate and respect it and I believe in its march and its genuine national line. I only want to point out that we have paid a dear price because the previous leaderships did not familiarize their people with the situation."

Engineer Kamal was listening to the elder's viewpoint. He agreed with it, saying:

Yes, the leadership must realize that we will pay the price sooner or later. There is no call for maneuvering and for engaging in "tactical skirmishes" with these regimes on the pretext of concern for the Palestinian people's safety. The Palestinian people will not be made safe by having the facts concealed from them. They will be shown no mercy by the international powers or by the area's forces allied with these powers if the Palestinian leadership remains silent on these forces' actions or if it tries to establish a temporary peace with them.

He added: Our faith in our Palestinian leadership requires it to go beyond the previous leaderships in dealing with its people. Those leaderships' inability to establish direct contact with the people confirmed their failure. All factions of the people wherever they may

exist support the current leadership and this support has been strengthened by the occupied territories' Intifadah, by the funeral of martyred leader Abu Jihad, by Abu 'Ammar's latest visit to al-Yarmuk Camp and by other developments. This support requires the leadership to renounce somewhat its complex of fear for the Palestinian people because these people, who have experienced all these massacres, have nothing more to fear for. I believe that concluding a truce, even a temporary one, with the hostile forces, be they local or international, is detrimental to and does not serve the Palestinian cause. Moreover, keeping the Palestinian people in the dark about what has been happening to the cause is a main reason for the setbacks that have afflicted us.

I believe that the cloud of confusion that engulfs even the intellectuals among us emanates from this reality.

At the camp clinic, Umm Walid said to me:

You are educated and you know why the Gaza people have been confined to this camp. You are also aware of the psychological barrier they have tried to set up between the refugees from Gaza Strip and the refugees from the West Bank. But the most accomplishment achieved by the Intifadah is that it has smashed the barrier that was about to be built within each of us.

I despise it when people in this country repeatedly say: This is a Gazan, this a Nablusi and that a Hebron man, this a refugee and that a civilian. There is one word to define the Palestinian, namely: "Palestinian."

The woman did truly amaze me with this response. She is in her forties and has a modest share of education. So where did she get this response?

Walid, her oldest son who was awaiting us at home, told me:

The Gaza Strip refugees in this country have suffered more painfully from the isolation complex than their brothers the other refugees. Consequently, they have learned better than others the positive and the negative features of the Palestinian issue and of the Palestinian struggle. We also accept the word "Palestinian" only because it reflects our present identity in the absence of a homeland. Without our Arab and Islamic identity, we will continue to be a mere regional illusion that must be fought as the narrow regional frameworks that have dominated the Arab world, have controlled its fates and have denied it the blessing of integration in all areas are fought.

Regarding the Intifadah, Walid said:

Many people have their hands on their hearts for fear that the Intifadah will be extinguished. I am not one of these people. I realize that every people have their capacities and their capabilities and that every phenomenon has that which follows it. This is why I do not fear

that the Intifadah will be extinguished. If it is extinguished, it will flare up anew with greater force. However, supplying this Intifadah with new political and military forces will lighten its burden and will accelerate harvesting its fruits.

He added: This Intifadah materialized at a critical time to break the wall of isolation built by the Zionist forces and their allies around the Palestinian issue in the wake of the major military blows these forces had dealt the PLO. This Intifadah has also come to reaffirm integration and to distribute the roles in the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

At the camp's youth center, a youth told me: This uprising has not changed the Zionist enemy's image in the world. Primarily, it has changed his image in our minds, we the sons of the cause, and in the minds of the Arab world's sons. The Arab leadership had contributed to depicting the Zionist soldier as an extraordinary fighter. Even though we are aware of what happened in those wars which nobody fought, the successive defeats suffered on the hands of the Zionist soldier contributed to disseminating this lie. But what happened in Lebanon and during the Beirut blockade and the testimony of the Zionist troops themselves reduced the Zionist soldier to size. The uprising has completely demolished this lie. Here we are seeing unarmed people fighting troops armed to the teeth.

This youth added: A friend who used to work in Qatar told me that Palestinian leader Abu Iyad said sometime prior to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon: "The Israeli army cannot organize traffic in Cairo, so why should we fear it?"

These words have been confirmed by the Intifadah. Therefore, the Arab capitals should not be afraid if they are occupied by surprise because they are capable of wiping out this enemy in their own streets. So, why the fear?

Another youth interrupted to say:

Until when will these borders continue to be sealed [to the fedayeen] and until when will this national security continue to be a sword hanging over our heads? Where is national security if the Israeli army advances whenever it wishes and if our armies withdraw according to the Israeli army's will?

Does national security mean annihilation of the Palestinians in order that the Zionist entity may live securely and peacefully and may impose its control on these feeble [Arab] entities?

He added: If 40 years are not enough for these [Arab] states to build up their force to confront the enemy who stands at their doors, then when will they complete building this force? We are faced with a big lie called "national security." This security permits the Zionist

entity to penetrate the Arab capitals and arrest the Palestinian because he wants from these regimes nothing other than being allowed the freedom of movement to fight his enemy.

In this camp, the discussion was wounding and the voices were loud. This camp is, as its inhabitants say, the "exception" among the Palestinian refugee camps. This "exception" is experiencing major problems and issues and we will delay talking about these problems until another series of reports on the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. For now, the voice is that of the Intifadah and "there is no voice above the Intifadah's voice."

Al-Husayn Camp Residents Express Views
44040115 Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
6 Nov 88 pp 26-27

[Article by Majid 'Abdullah: "Al-Husayn Camp: Mother Reminded of Her Son by Uprising's Children"]

[Text] The only camp that has not undergone noticeable development in the long past years is al-Husayn Camp. From the outset, this camp found itself surrounded by Jabal [Mount] Husayn which has undergone major development. However, the camp has been able to penetrate the blockade through its weak flank and has expanded in the direction of al-Nuzhah area—an agricultural area to which camp residents used to go in past years for picnicking and to gather some herbs and vegetables.

During "land day" in March 1988, the camp celebrated and a big demonstration proceeded from the PLO Office in Amman and planned to march northward toward the developed areas. But then that demonstration turned back and went to the camp because it realized that the camp inhabitants are the people qualified to embrace it and to respond to it.

I entered the camp on the day following the demonstration. All felt ecstatic over the opportunity to take part in the great uprising with their kinsmen. This is why that event was the topic of discussion of everybody in the camp.

A vendor told me: We are not for chaos or violence. But one feels truly ecstatic when one can express his feelings.

He added with a tone that had a special impact: If I were an Arab official, I would allow the freedom of expression in all its forms. If too much air is blown into a balloon, it explodes. If a man is subjected to excessive oppression, he explodes. We are all candidates for explosion because what boils within us is too much for our bodies to bear.

A youth at the youth center told me:

They have seen with their own eyes that the Palestinian does not like chaos or destruction and that he does not stage demonstrations for the sake of demonstrating but that he wants to make his voice heard in the world. The demonstration went by numerous places and toured the camp but did nothing against the government. We are opposed to those who stand in our way but we will never be against the states and the communities in which we live because we realize that the inhabitants of these states are, sooner or later and regardless of the plots, our real support. We cannot squander them or slight their feelings.

Regarding their view of the Intifadah, an experienced elder named 'Abd-al-Jalil told me:

Son, there can be no smoke without a fire. A revolution is not born from void. When the fedayeen departed from Lebanon in 1982, the hostile forces were so concerned with dividing the Palestinian revolution and the national resistance in South Lebanon that they managed to get them to fight each other. But if we ask whether the Lebanese resistance could have come into existence without the Palestinian revolution's presence in Lebanon, the answer would be negative, of course, because the Palestinian revolution is the seed for this Arab awakening. This is why the Lebanese national resistance, or some of its factions, made a mistake and distorted its world image by clashing with the Palestinian revolution in the wake of the accomplishments that it had achieved jointly with the Palestinian revolution.

This elder added: We can also view what is happening in the occupied territories from this angle: Can any rational person cast doubt on the warm relationship between the uprising at home and the "revolution abroad?"

If the Palestinian revolution, with all its cadres at home and abroad, is not the party that has created this uprising, then who has made it? Israel? The Arab states?

Only the nation's enemies, be they Arabs or foreigners, cast doubt on the unity of the Palestinian revolution's forces. The single Palestinian revolutionary dimension is being further crystallized day after day.

Commenting on this statement, a youth said:

They say that our people in the homeland have rebelled because they felt desperate and frustrated. This in itself calls for ridicule because if the desperate and the frustrated are destined to rebel, then their revolt is chaotic, transient and can be easily killed in the cradle. The current uprising has proven that it is firm and that it is steered by a wise leadership emanating from the core of the people and capable of managing the people. Many ignoramuses and people who cast doubt forget the long years the Palestinian revolution has spent building this

Intifadah brick by brick and establishing Palestinian revolutionary institutions one after the other. Time will tell who stands behind this Intifadah.

(Here we must interrupt the context a little and note that this testimony came before brother Abu Jihad, the Palestinian revolution deputy general commander, was martyred. His martyrdom has revealed many of this Intifadah's cards to the world and Arab public opinion).

At the camp, we also met the mother of martyr Zaki al-Malik. "Al-Malik" [the king] is not his father's name or his family name but his father's nickname. The reason for this nickname is that the father, who lived in 'Aqabat Jabr Camp in the Palestinian Valley, was the opposite of the men in his town. They traveled tens of kilometers to look for reeds from which to make mats while he sat in front of his house smoking his waterpipe and let his wife work instead. So they nicknamed him "al-malik" [the king].

An amusing anecdote is told about this "king." During a blockade of the 'Aqabat Jabr Camp in 1967, the troops heard everybody repeating the name "al-malik. They were angered by the name and so they went to the man and asked him to change it. He responded:

This is a title I have appropriately earned. The people have given it to me and I have not imposed it on anybody. Therefore, I cannot change it.

Zaki's mother, who was indisputably the "man of the house," said: Now I see Zaki rising before me from the soil of al-Karamah where he was martyred. He irrigated with his pure blood the soil of that land which restored respect to the Arab man.

She added: These young children who are confronting tanks remind me of Zaki and his comrades who were the first to confront the enemy tanks with their chests and their light weapons. I remember well the time when they dug their trenches and took their positions in those trenches until they were martyred. This generation is the generation which imbibed the noble concepts of the first generation of the Palestinian revolution.

Dr 'Adil, who follows the world press daily, said:

With this Intifadah, we need media that rely on information. We do not need emotional media. Let the media leave the emotional to poetry and literature. Let our media rise to our Intifadah's dimensions. So far, we have been unable to analyze the Intifadah's dimensions. All our analyses are based on what is published in the foreign press which has played a major role in intensifying the Intifadah. This could not have been done if it were not for the information possessed by these media. Information is what causes fright. The emotional has no place in the media equation. I follow the foreign press and I realize how terrified were the Zionists of the media which tried to provide their readers, listeners and viewers with the facts. These media terrified numerous enemies, beginning with the Zionist enemy and its Arab allies and ending with the western allies.

Therefore, I beg you to stress this point: Our Palestinian media and FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH in particular must rise to the level of the challenge imposed by the Intifadah and must provide both their enemies and their friends with the real and living facts so that they may terrify the enemies, all the enemies, and may gain friends, rather more friends.

This simultaneously confined and besieged camp throbs with the Intifadah. But there are numerous "secrets" inside it, and we hope these secrets will be the focus of another report.

Suf Camp Residents Express Views

440400115 Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH
in Arabic 13 Nov 88 p 29

[Article by Majid 'Abdullah: "Suf Camp: Child Envious of Palestine's Children"]

[Text] Entering the Palestinian refugee camps after an absence of 15 years means entering into the Palestinian revolution's virgin dream. The mind continues to recollect numerous memories directly tied to the beginnings of the Palestinian struggle. It recollects them with a strange glow that floods many of the procession's residues and hardships.

Advancing from the north, from Irbid City in particular, one passes through Thaghrat 'Usfur which overlooks the smallest Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan. This camp retreats to its shell, as it retreated in past years to protect itself from the shots coming in its direction from that gap [thughrah] which had been under fedayeen control and which the fedayeen then handed over to the government with utter goodwill. Subsequently, the gap turned into a sword of terror which hung over the heads of the camp inhabitants for several months.

This gap provided the opening for a conversation with a 50-year old woman who told me:

"God has made none more odious than the monkey. What can they do to us?" Answering a soldier who asked her at the time about the reason for the hole in her home, constructed of corrugated tin sheets, the woman said:

"It was a 500-caliber shot."

The soldier asked: How do you know it wasn't a dushka shot?

Because it came from Thaghrat 'Usufr. Moreover, the Dushka men (meaning fedayeen) do not fire in the direction of the camp.

This woman told me: We, the Palestinians, will triumph, sooner or later. If the Arab leaders understood history, they would not stand in the way of this cause. But it seems that they are "so and so" and don't even deserve to be witnesses to our victory.

I said: You are optimistic.

She responded: Yes, because what is happening in our land has the power of destiny.

Abu Ibrahim, a 60-year-old man, said something similar. He believes that this Intifadah will have its impact on the entire area. He added:

What distinguishes this Intifadah is the role the youth are playing in it. This means that it will ultimately dictate its will. What I am saying doesn't mean that I slight the value of the other older generations. But the youth are the element more capable of dictating what they want. The supporters of God's messenger were young men. Moreover, the fuel of all the great revolutions is young men because they believe more strongly in revolutionary action than old men do.

Hatim, an educated youth in his thirties, tackled the issue from a different angle, namely the sensitive situation in the Jordanian arena, saying:

What worries us at this particular time is that there are forces trying to exploit the situation in order to instigate against the Palestinian Arab identity, as if it were the antithesis of the Jordanian Arab identity. There are discordant voices and the arena is open for these voices to implement their scheme. Therefore, what is important is that we take carefully calculated steps in this arena. We want to foil the opportunity of the forces hostile to our cause in this arena and we want to prevent them from passing their scheme to strike us. I believe that our brothers in the occupied territories are well aware of this situation, especially since the world media discuss the issue of the presence of "two identities" in Jordan when they deal with the ramifications of the Intifadah to the Palestinians abroad. He added: "We must not underestimate the dangers of igniting this issue. We have learned our lesson well. There will always be major plots against us and these plots will not cease as long as our people continue to demand their right to survival."

Bassam, a child, said: "We have made slings. When I see Palestine's children fighting the enemy with slings, I feel that they, not me, are Palestine's children."

Khadijah, a 25-year-old woman, said:

"Until when will the Arab world continue to plot against us? They not only watch. They also plot because this Arab world can make miracles if it moves. But as for the people in charge of this world's affairs, it is too little to characterize these leaders as "traitors" as long as they protect the Zionist enemy from their peoples' revolution. Let these leaders know that the fire will burn them first if they continue to stand in the face of the wrath erupting among their peoples because these peoples will not remain silent forever. The peoples have given them years and years to prepare for war. What have they done?"

She added: "The Palestinian media must play their role in fanning the Intifadah's fires and in exposing the cards so that our Zionist enemy may not continue to be the stronger party. He is the stronger party because the Arab leaders do not wish to make the war decision, because they leave this decision to the enemy to make or because they go for 'calculated' wars."

Abu Bashshar believes that changes are coming and that the PLO's ability to change the psychological, social and economic makeup of man in the occupied territories enables the PLO to practice this restructuring in all the Palestinian arenas in the diaspora.

He added: "Whoever examines the changes that have occurred in the conduct of the kinsmen in the occupied territories realizes the efforts made by all the PLO factions to remake the Palestinian man. The Palestinian is capable of dealing with all the given facts. All the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they may exist, has to do is reinforce the positive values in this man. The hostile forces have tried in recent years to drive this man to the circle of consumerism, selfishness and opportunism because they realize that killing this man comes by destroying him from within. But the Intifadah has come to reinforce this man's positive values. We hope that the Palestinian will comprehend this lesson so that he may always rise to the level of the challenge."

Abu Bashshar further added: "Therefore, I believe that the PLO must also review numerous calculations made on this basis, must purge its agencies of opportunists and of favorites and agents of the [Arab] regimes so that it may continue to be the good model for its people who have learned the lesson well."

Haji Tahsin tried to make his words the crowning touch, saying:

"The Intifadah is not alien to our people. It is a reawakening of the Palestinian. It is a sweeping awakening that will not be like its predecessors and will not end up a prey of Arab plotting. It will be the first step to bury this plotting."

These are some of the reactions to the Intifadah and some parts of the impression I got of this small camp. But [in addition to the Intifadah], this camp has its other concerns which will be the topic of another series of reports. For now "there is no voice above the Intifadah's voice."

Status of Israeli Arabs in Nazareth Described
44000214 *Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST* in
English 21 Dec 88 p 7

[Article by Marda Dunskey: "Reaching for Equality"]

[Text] Whatever the dramatic shifts in Palestinian-Israeli developments, Israeli Arabs are continuing to wage a steady campaign to improve their status in Israel.

This was evidenced by the gathering of some 300 Israeli Arabs who demonstrated opposite the Knesset on the same day that Yasir 'Arafat addressed the UN in Geneva. They came from the Negev, Galilee, and points between chiefly to protest the demolition of illegally-built housing and inadequate government funding for their local councils.

One placard summed up the general sentiment: "Stop discrimination against our people," it read.

"In 1948 we became citizens of Israel, and that's the specific paradox in our tragedy," says Samih Ghanadri, a Nazareth-based journalist.

"We are part of the people that is the enemy of the government and occupied by it, while at the same time citizens of the state," he says.

This constant tension between Palestinian national identity and Israeli citizenship has been exacerbated, Ghanadri says, because "we were never integrated as real Israeli citizens in the life of the state, but regarded as third-class citizens after the Sephardim."

He ticks off a list of government policies which, he says, over the past 40 years have kept the Arab sector in a subordinate position: massive expropriation of land, the imposition of martial law over the Arab population until 1965, the virtual absence of industrial development in Arab towns and villages.

"There is no field in our lives," contends Ghanadri, an activist in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, "where there is no national discrimination."

After Israel's Arab sector staged a landmark strike for equality in June 1987, peacefully yet effectively shutting down their schools, businesses, and their contribution to the labour force for a day, Ghanadri set out to document the case behind the strike.

To document this contention in the book that evolved from his research, titled "Panorama of the National Discrimination and Oppression," Ghanadri turned to statistics emanating from the government itself. Using reports published by the Ministry of the Interior on the fiscal and physical resources of Jewish and Arab local authorities for the years 1983/84 and 1985/86, he drew striking comparisons between the two sectors.

A resident of Nazareth, the largest Arab municipality in Israel, Ghanadri is wont to compare it with the neighbouring and principally Jewish development town of Upper Nazareth, established in 1956.

"Today, the sewage system in Nazareth is not complete," he notes, "but before they even moved into Upper Nazareth there was a swimming pool, a community centre, a sewage system, electricity and water."

Citing government statistics, Ghanadri wrote that Nazareth, with a population of 50,000, in 1983/84 had a municipal budget of NIS 355,099 and employed 393 municipal workers. In the same year, Upper Nazareth with 25,500 residents had a municipal budget of NIS 432,277 and 433 workers.

While Nazareth obtained tax revenues of NIS 163,467 from the government, Upper Nazareth got NIS 210,602. Interior Ministry assistance to Nazareth totalled NIS 58,368; Upper Nazareth received NIS 122,348.

"Why is Upper Nazareth a development town and Nazareth not?" Ghanadri asks. "There are 10 factories in Upper Nazareth. Here there are none."

Of the 137 Arab towns and villages in Israel, not one, Ghanadri says, has the status of a development town, a designation that encourages industrial development, strengthens the tax base, and eventually translates into more revenues available for municipal development.

"If I want to open a factory it is preferable that I open it in a development town. There I don't pay high taxes and the government supports me with grants and loans," Ghanadri says.

His comparison between Umm al-Fahm, with a population of 22,000 one of the four largest Arab centres in Israel, and Karmi'el, a Jewish development town with a population of 18,500, further illustrates this trend.

While Umm al-Fahm had a 1983/84 municipal budget of NIS 201,476, with NIS 145,935 coming from tax revenues and NIS 52,301 coming in government assistance, the similarly sized Karmi'el had a budget for the same year of NIS 432,574, with NIS 232,929 coming from tax revenues and NIS 151,056 in government assistance.

Karmi'el's municipal work force was exactly one third greater than Umm al-Fahm's: 333 as against 222.

Alexander Bligh, acting adviser to the prime minister on Arab affairs, confirms the correctness of the tableau Ghanadri paints while at the same time attempting to analyse the situation in a historical context.

"It is important to remember that the development towns were established when Israel had to absorb large waves of 'olim in the 1950s." At the time there existed "a unique opportunity" to develop factory towns, a parallel circumstance for which has not existed in the Arab sector, Bligh says.

And while he confirms that Arab towns and villages today receive only \$1 for every \$3 that the government gives to Jewish municipalities, he points out that when the Likud came to power in 1977, the ratio was 13 to one.

"It's a dramatic improvement," he says, conceding that the gap has narrowed in part because the Jewish sector has been getting less from the government in the face of the over-all economic constraints of the state.

Nevertheless, Bligh says, "we are on the right track. But we are not saying that this is enough; there is still a lot to be done."

Statistical comparisons and the Arab sector's peaceful exercise of its democratic right to protest and publicize their claims aside, Ghanadri sees the root of the problem in the ideology guiding the state itself.

"Zionist ideology is the principal ideology of the government," he says, which has viewed the Arab citizens of the state as those "with cultural and religious rights, but not national rights."

Just how far the Zionist ideal is willing to accommodate the tenets of democracy with regard to the Arab sector is questionable but Ghanadri suggests that the tip of the ideological iceberg may be beginning to thaw.

"The discrimination has been going on for 40 years, but in the past it was denied, ignored," he says.

"In the last 10 years there are people in the government who know there is a debate, who know there is a gap between the Jewish and Arab populations. But it will take time to overcome it."

This is confirmed by Bligh, who predicts that the gap between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel will eventually be closed completely.

Currently, he says, his office, in conjunction with the Interior and Finance ministries, is developing a "master plan," whose aim would be "to reach a point in which the Arab village is as developed as its Jewish counterpart."

Bligh chose his words carefully as to when the plan actually would be implemented, saying only that he hopes to announce it officially "in a few months." But he said the project would include five new Arab towns or villages each year until complete parity is achieved.

He concedes that Arab local councils have received only "a little less than half" of the NIS 20 million pledged to them in development budgets for fiscal years 1987 and 1988, an issue raised at last week's Knesset demonstration.

Actual delivery of the funds, Bligh says, hinges on two factors: further study of proposed targeted infrastructure projects, and an easing of the general economic situation facing the state as a whole.

"The Finance Ministry is at present delaying the transfer of the funds," he says, adding that an additional NIS 24 million has been pledged towards the consolidation of past debts incurred by the local councils.

"But the government will cover the expenses it has said it will cover, and this will happen in the very near future."

Islamic State of Palestine Envisioned
44230042 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
23 Dec 88 pp B3

[Article by Roman Priester: "In the Name of Allah, the Greatest"]

[Text] The coffee was rather bitter. So was the message, at least to an Israeli ear. The bitter coffee was served according to the Muslim custom at the house of the Abu-Mukh family in Baqa al-Gharbiyah, who were observing 3 days of mourning for one of their sons. The message came from the deceased's brother, Farid Ibrahim Abu-Mukh: "I cannot relate to the Palestinian state decreed by 'Arafat. I do not support it and I do not oppose it. As far as I am concerned, I can only consider a state established throughout Palestine, and even that on condition that it is based on the principles of Islam."

Had it not been for Ahmad Jibril's exchange deal (1,150 jailed men for four war prisoners), Abu-Mukh would still be serving the 15 years to which he had been sentenced for illegal activities within the "Jihad Family," an organization established at the end of the 1970's. He is short, simply dressed, wears a checkered kafiya around his neck, and sports a short beard. He is neither impressive, nor charismatic. He used to work for a carpentry shop in Tel Aviv and be an unwelcome guest at night bars. But he had enough of life on the fringes of Jewish society and returned to his village and to the bosom of Allah. He took the first step on the advice of one of the community elders, for whom throwing oneself upon the mercy of heaven was the only way to overcome personal shame: He had four daughters in 16 years of marriage and he yearned for a male heir. And indeed, as soon as he opened up his heart to the prophet, his wife bore him a son.

While recovering from his crisis, Farid Abu-Mukh fell under the spell of a young Muslim preacher from the village of Qasm, 'Abdallah Nimr Darwish. Today, the 43 year old Darwish is considered the leader of the Muslim movement in Israel. He lives in a modest home at the end of the village, and although he does not even have a telephone, he is the moving spirit of the religious revival among the Arab community. He is also a great organizer and an inspired preacher and interpreter of scripture. Within a short period of time he imbued his followers with an enthusiasm and devotion comparable only to that of Habad members. His movement grew in strength, won the leadership of several village councils in the Triangle and beyond, and, on the eve of the February

elections for local government, it was threatening even traditional RAKAH [New Communist List] strongholds like Umm al-Fahm, for example.

Like Abu-Mukh and hundreds of other born-again Muslims, Darwish found a haven in faith in the wake of personal disappointment. A formerly devoted communist, he got his faith studying at the Islamic Academy in Nablus. During his talk with us he distanced himself from any violence and supported the idea of Arab-Israeli coexistence, at least "as long as we are a minority in the State of Israel." He then spoke in detail about his organization's efforts in behalf of people's well-being. In his articles for the organization's publication and for Nazareth's AL-SINNARAH, Shaykh Abdallah puts Islam above a Palestinian state. Except that not everyone interprets his message the way he presents it to an Israeli journalist. Some see it as only the first step in the right direction, and a secular 'Arafat-style state does not fit their ideal. That end of the spectrum is represented by Dr Khalid Di'ab, a Nazareth pediatrician who has publicly declared his support for the Khomeyni revolution in Iran. In a publication that he founded he expressed the view that "Both the Western and Eastern imperialist plots are doomed to failure, while the new Muslim brotherhood is destined to triumph."

Last Friday the mosques of Baqa al-Garbiya were filled with praying faithful. Hundreds of cars were parked in front of the new mosque on the main street, many of them bearing West Bank licence plates. Hundreds of others congregated at the mosque recently erected by the Darwish family, whose minaret rises as high as the newly won pride of those returning to the faith. The first Islamic Academy in Israel is scheduled to open on the ground floor of the mosque. Council Chairman Samir Darwish and Shaykh Tawfiq Asaliyah, president of the Shari'ah Court of Appeals, went to Egypt to mobilize financing and teaching staff. Education Minister Yitzhaq Navon gave his blessing to the project, because in the meantime the Israeli Muslim communities have had to rely on religious leaders from the territories, who, as is only natural, inculcate in the faithful a mixture of religion and nationalism. Some 80 new mosques were built in the Triangle and in Galilee in the past decade, and they serve not only as houses of prayer, but also as educational and social centers. The authority over those centers of power has become a major political problem. The young generation of Israeli Arabs do not tend to follow the veteran qadis and imams appointed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, who often do not even have the necessary education for their position.

On Friday all the shops were closed in Baqa al-Gharbiyah, and no beer or other drinks banned by the Koran were served in the coffee houses. Farid Abu-Mukh, too, shut down his bookstore, the Muslim Message. His shop stayed closed for an additional 3 days because of the mourning in his family. When it reopened, aside from religious books and pamphlets, mostly imported from Arab countries, one could find there Thomas Meyer's

"The Muslim Revival in Israel." The author claims that 60 Jihad Family prisoners absorbed a hefty dose of Muslim indoctrination in jail (at the time Abdallah Nimar Darwish was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment) and joined religious-nationalistic groups that became the dominant force at the Ramallah and Ashqelon jails.

Meyer, a Tel Aviv University lecturer who has in the meantime emigrated, had his booklet published by the Institute of Arab Studies at Giv'at Haviva, where Abu-Mukh gets star billing. The study was translated into Arabic by 'Abd al-Fatah Zahalaqah. Zahalaqah, whose views are close to the RATS [Citizen's Rights Movement] and MAPAM [United Workers Party] platforms, teaches history in Kfar Qara and is working on a masters degree in education. He helped with the research and gathered the field data for the study. He is familiar with the field, and between one tiny cup of coffee to the next, he fleshes out the picture: "The Muslim Movement gets its inspiration from the 'Muslim Brothers' and is organized according to their philosophy, but it does not use their name as such because of legal prohibitions. The movement was born out of the terrible neglect of Islamic studies in our schools. I, myself, know more verses from the Bible than from the Koran. For some reason the authorities thought that if you do not teach something, it does not exist. The encounter with West Bank Arabs after 1967 proved how wrong that approach was. Young people found ties to Islam outside the school walls, in a version that was convenient to its proponents. Only recently has there been a certain measure of change in our curricula. However, it is too little, too late."

Zahalaka claims that the leaders of the Muslim Movement are adjusting their activities to the Israeli realities. They are careful not to come into open conflict with the law, but deep in their hearts they dream of an Islamic state, not necessarily according to the PLO formula. Zahalaka said: "Shaykh Abdallah Darwish, too, whose public statements are all moderation and pleasantness, has repeatedly stated that the only solution is through Islam, that the Arab people stand opposite the Islamic state, and that the frontiers of the Islamic state are the frontiers of humankind. The 'Da'wah,' the religious message, must be spread to all the corners of the world. It was no coincidence that many of the voters in his village placed in the ballot boxes pieces of paper reading, Allahu Akbar. According to the teachings of Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Movement in Egypt, it is forbidden to vote for a secular party."

The members of the Muslim Movement in Israel get financial backing for their activities from the Muslim Congress, whose headquarters is in Saudi Arabia (approximately \$1.5 million in the past 2 years) and from the "zakat," a tax that each Muslim must pay to his community. "Many people may cheat on income tax, but they will usually not refuse to contribute to the zakat till," said Zahalaqah, and confessed that he, too, despite being secular, does not evade that obligation. "I am

doing that in part under my mother's influence, but also because there is no denying that the zakat funds are well used for the benefit of the people. They are used to help the poor and for community projects such as kindergartens, libraries, clinics, roads, and fence mending. It is enough to see what occurred in places like Umm al-Fahm to understand the power that the zakat funds impart to the movement that controls them."

In the past 14 years the municipality of Umm al-Fahm has been controlled by the Communist Party. Recently, a particularly large mosque was built on a hilltop right in the back of the City Hall. Refusing to allocate public land for building mosques and affiliated institutions did the mayor no good. Dr Sulayman Ahmad Ajbariyah, who is also one of the editors of the movement's newspaper, donated a 3.5 dunum plot for building a Muslim school in the town. Other donors gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance the construction of mosques, welfare projects, and religious summer camps. "Now that municipal elections are near, members of the 'Young Muslims' go from door to door to push their organization. They work untiringly and with unbound devotion, convert adults, too, and get results," said Attorney Walid Asaliyah, the son of Shaykh Asaliyah, president of the Shari'ah Court of Appeals.

Mayor Hashim Muhamid of HADASH Party is aware of the fact that for the first time his party will be facing a power that may well win the battle for his seat. His opponents' camp is led by three activists who got their Islamic education at West Bank academies. "It will be a tough battle. I am not underrating my opponents. They have managed to subjugate some of the mosques to their purposes and to turn them into propaganda forums. Consequently, this time, unlike the past, it will not be a contest between individuals, but a battle for the image and character of the town," said Muhamid. "The question is whether we want a Umm al-Fahm as it is now, with its problems and troubles, or a miniature Iran. If the Muslim fundamentalists take over, they will easily enact amendments which will separate boys from girls in the schools, impose modest dress on women, ban music at festivities, and who knows what else. Moreover, I see them as a threat to democracy itself. The town Muslim Youth is not a purely religious organization. It is a political party for all intents and purposes, the Arab SHAS [Guardians of the Tora] so to speak, in addition to the dangerous fact that it views Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] as the driving force in the territories."

Kamal Rayyan, a teacher at Giv'at Haviva, believes that the Muslim Movement (or Muslim Youth, as it is sometimes called) is not yet a political party, but he does not doubt that one of these days they will become a political force. "That is a natural and legitimate aspiration," he explains. "Everything in our lives is set in circles. The individual exists first for himself, then for his family, then for his village, then for his country, and when the country lets him down, he turns to the biggest circle of all, the circle of Islam, which provides warmth and honor."

It is surprising to hear that from 30 year old Rayyan, a teacher at a school founded by the National Kibbutz Movement. He, too, has suffered bitter disappointment. He actually wanted to study medicine, but was rejected. We are seated in the living room of his house in the village of Bara, right on the Green Line, on a rainy evening. It is dark, the power having just gone out. In this special atmosphere young Rayyan reveals himself as a man who is slowly but steadily finding his way from the "corrupt" world to Allah's world. His wife is dressed as is proper for a Muslim woman: a white scarf covers her head and shoulders over a gray dress.

"I was married to her in short sleeves," Rayyan smiles, "but when all medical attempts failed and we still had no children after 10 years of being married, she turned to the modestness of religious life. I can understand her. Islam provides an answer to many problems that no other authority can solve. Since 1962 the village council was led by MIFDAL [National Religious Party]-supported people and not much was done for its population. Four years ago, empowered by our hammulah, I pledged our support to Kamal Ibn-Ahmad Rayyan, a member of the Muslim Movement and a student of Abdallah Nimar Darwish. He is a man my age. We both graduated from high school with top grades and we both failed to be admitted into the university. He wanted to study law, but had to be content with the Bet Berl Seminar for teachers. When the law school turned him down, he got so angry that he burned all the Hebrew books he had. Later, while he was chairman of the village council, he completed his education in regional management at the Bar Ilan University, and he radically changed our village. Zakat is now levied here, and the place is clean and orderly: We paved sidewalks, built a cultural center with volunteer contributions, opened a center for Koran studies, and set spiritual challenges for our youth. What were young people doing after school, from 1400 to 2200? Is it not better that they should go to Koran school than to the hay barn?"

"And what did RAKAH or the Zionist parties ever do for us? We saw their representatives once every 4 years, before elections. The Muslim Movement is active here 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. That is the difference. When the movement won the elections, some said that Kamal would turn the village 20 years back, but the exact opposite happened. We were threatened with religious restrictions, but all that happened is that we did away with the secular restrictions that characterize modern life and that are so alien to the spirit of my people. I know that there are among us extremists who dream of an Islamic state in Israel, but they are a minority. There is an Arab proverb that says, 'You can stretch your legs only as far as your mattress reaches.' It is clear to every reasonable person that the conditions do not exist for such a state. Perhaps some day, in the distant future, but not now. You were asking about my reaction to 'Arafat and the state that he proposes? Palestine is very important, but is not at the top of my priorities. I can live without a Palestinian state, but I cannot live without Islam.'"

Issue of Borders of Palestinian State Discussed

44040110 Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
6 Nov 88 pp 14-15

[Article by Jawad al-Bashiti]

[Text] A good question that demands an answer: If the PLO leadership agrees to Arab and international conditions for the proclamation of a Palestinian state, and neither negotiations or the international conference are held, with what will the Palestinian national movement arm itself afterwards?

During all stages of negotiations for a settlement of the Palestinian question, and even before these negotiations begin, while preparations for them are under way, we and others must remember an essential truth: The very special and exceptional character of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict demands very special and exceptional solutions. Whenever we look carefully at the relation between a problem and a solution, we find that the solution is always of the same nature as the problem. No problem can come into existence unless the elements and conditions for its solution come into existence with it.

When real negotiations for a solution of the Palestinian question begin, all the negotiators will discover that many of the issues and subjects on the agenda demand a new method of treatment and inventive solutions to which they were not previously accustomed.

Everyone who supports the solution of a Palestinian state should know in advance that this state will be of a new kind. In its actual existence, it will be a modification of many legal and political concepts and categories, not a pure and clear expression of them.

Doubtlessly, all of this can be traced to a simple, primary fact that we and the Israelis have learned by heart: The Palestinian-Israeli struggle is a struggle for existence, not a struggle over borders. "I love you, Plato, but I love truth more." With words such as these, fraught with two kinds of love, we can reply to some of the advice from brothers and friends that rains down on us nowadays.

After holding apparently frank and detailed talks about peace in the Middle East with his guest, French President Francois Mitterrand, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak asked the PLO, on the eve of the emergency session of the Palestine National Council, to designate in advance the borders of the Palestinian state whose establishment it planned to announce.

As an item of advice worth considering, President Mubarak said the following: "If the Palestinians want to announce the establishment of their state, they should designate its borders to dispel Israel's security fears."

"If we talk about Resolution 181 and concentrate only on it, that will raise Israel's doubts." "As for the proclamation of the establishment of a Palestinian state, we

must know its borders; otherwise, it will raise Israeli's fears, and the question will become more complicated... The Palestinian state must have clear borders."

These statements by President Mubarak apparently reflect the existence of reservations on the part of France and Europe generally toward the Charter of Independence that will probably be issued by the emergency session of the Palestine National Council. France and the countries of the European Community in general are asking about the borders of the Palestinian state before and in order to define their position on the Charter of Independence.

The Egyptian president has indeed raised a very sensitive subject that the PLO has desired and still desires to take up during peace negotiations, not before them. Contrary to the charge that Israeli Foreign Minister and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres has directed at the PLO, the PLO does not want results without negotiations. But like Israel, the PLO does not intend to throw away its negotiating cards before peace negotiations begin, especially when the holding of these negotiations remains a mere possibility.

The United States, and with it Labor Party doves, keep asking the PLO to accept Security Council Resolution 242 explicitly, unambiguously, and unconditionally, recognize Israel (sometimes also its right to exist), stop commando activity (under the slogan of "rejecting and condemning terrorism"), and agree to formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations.

The PLO is to grant all these conditions before peace negotiations begin and in order for Washington to agree to open an official dialogue with it, knowing that the United States does not guarantee that this dialogue will lead to peace negotiations.

In addition to these preconditions, the PLO is now being asked to define in advance the borders of the Palestinian state whose establishment it intends to proclaim—i.e., to proclaim that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are the borders of this state.

The fact is that such a determination of borders of the Palestinian state would mean that the PLO had officially relinquished the historical rights of the Palestinian people to all of Palestine. Moreover, it would mean that the PLO officially acknowledged that these rights were merely a lie and a pretense. Such an acknowledgment would necessarily mean that the Jewish people had national and historic rights in most of the land of Palestine.

We say this, having said goodbye forever to the "realm of fantasies." The amount of Palestinian, Arab, and international pressure to which Israel is subject or might be subject in the future cannot give us under the best of conditions a Palestinian state whose area includes more

than the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, establishment of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza is one thing, and the designation of its borders within this geographical area is something else completely different.

Furthermore, what if the Palestinian leadership accepted all the aforementioned conditions, and peace negotiations were still not held? What will it then say to its people?

Raising these two questions is enough to make us realize that such a step would represent not only abandonment of the most elementary rights of the Palestinian people, but also a violation of the most elementary principles of logic and sound thinking.

The year 1974 saw an unprecedented narrowing of Palestinian political thinking, when the Palestine National Council for the first time approved the establishment of a Palestinian state on any portion of Palestinian land from which Israeli occupation was lifted, which was liberated, or which was regained through negotiations.

Ever since then, the PLO has manifested a clear official desire to avoid falling into the trap of predetermining the borders of the Palestinian state.

Even in the Arab peace proposal approved by the 1982 Fes summit, there was clear adherence to this Palestinian position. The proposal asked for an international transition period in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, explaining in a subsequent paragraph that an independent Palestinian state would have to be established "on Palestinian national soil."

Thus, there is no Palestinian or Arab document that considers the West Bank and Gaza to be the final geographical area of the Palestinian state.

Apparently, the PLO's intention to proclaim the establishment of a Palestinian state based on the partition resolution (181) has prompted certain parties to ask the PLO to define the Palestinian state's borders in advance.

We must explain that by proclaiming the establishment of a Palestinian state based on the partition resolution the PLO merely wishes to solve the question of the Palestinian state within the framework of international law. The practical political aspect of the decision lies in its affirming the right of the Palestinian people to have a state on part of the territory of its homeland, Palestine.

The PLO also wishes to put the question of recognizing Israel within the framework of international law. Under Resolution 181, recognition is mutual and between two states.

As for the borders of the Palestinian state, these will be announced only within the framework of the peace treaty. It appears that we and the Israelis agree—and we must agree—on this matter.

For a long time we have heard dovish Israeli officials affirm that the borders of the Israeli state will be designated only in the context of peace treaties between that state and its neighbors.

Given the nature of the conflict between us and the Israelis, the question of borders will probably be solved ideologically, not politically; there will be no official borders between Israel and the Palestinian state. The Palestinians will press in that direction, and the Israelis will probably press in the same direction.

The Palestinian state will be established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip without designation of its borders with Israel. It will be established on the principle of "rights in exchange for peace," and not on the principle of "land in exchange for peace"—even though Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem is a precondition for the Palestinian people's exercise of its fundamental rights and the establishment of peace in the region.

Release Al-Husayni Now

44000231 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in
English 30 Dec 88 p 7

[Article by Yehuda Litani]

[Text] Like his late father 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Husayni, Faysal al-Husayni is seen by the Palestinian community in the territories as a local hero. Unlike his father, he is regarded by them as the uncontested leader of the local community, and consequently, as the leader of their intifadah.

Faysal al-Husayni has served four terms in administrative detention from April 1987 to this day—altogether 18 months, plus 10 days of interrogation in August 1987. He is being held in the Kefar Yona prison and is due to be released on 15 January. In Kefar Yona, al-Husayni is in solitary confinement and is not allowed to contact other inmates there even during his exercise hour outside the cell. He is regularly visited by his family, but they are never allowed a moment's privacy since they are escorted by his guards who listen to every word exchanged between al-Husayni and his family.

The government is in the process of coming up with a new political plan for the future of the territories. On the assumption that the immediate outcome of the ongoing dialogue between Washington and the PLO will mean new peace initiatives for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Israel's leaders want to confront it with an initiative of their own. One that would be least harmful to Israel.

Not only Rabin and Peres, but Shamir and Arens, too, are calling for "a dialogue with local leaders in the territories" as the first stage in this new scheme. It is widely believed in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and east Jerusalem that such a dialogue cannot materialize without the full consent of the PLO leadership abroad. "No Palestinian in the territories, even the most moderate, would dare to take part in such an act without the blessing of the PLO leadership abroad," a well-known Palestinian activist said this week.

The Israeli security apparatus in the territories—the IDF, the General Security Service and the Civil Administration—are well aware that Faysal al-Husayni is the most respected Palestinian leader in the territories. Most of those dealing with the "al-Husayni file" believe him to be the most dangerous leader from an Israeli perspective as "he undermines Israel's vital security interests"—whatever that may mean.

An entirely different view was expressed by a highly respected East Jerusalem journalist who said this week that "if by any chance Faysal al-Husayni were deported by the Israelis, it would mean a much more extreme intifadah, including the use of arms and explosives. Al-Husayni is a moderate leader and he is doing his best—even from his jail cell—to see to it that the intifadah takes a reasonable path, not too violent. If he goes, those who replace him will tend in the direction of a more violent and extreme uprising which will ultimately be bloodier for both sides."

Regardless of whose assessment of al-Husayni is correct, if Israel wants to have a dialogue with local leaders, al-Husayni is the leader in the territories. Whether Defence Minister Rabin loves him or hates him—and it is not hard to guess which—Faysal al-Husayni should be the first local leader to be addressed by Israel.

A dialogue with people called "moderates" by some Israeli officials and "collaborators" by the Palestinians would be meaningless and futile. Some Israeli officials, thinking out loud, are saying that a new bill should be passed in the Knesset which would include the possibility of deporting "subversive elements" who are residents of East Jerusalem. This might provide an easy solution, these officials think, for the al-Husayni problem.

After 21 years' experience of occupation we know that, as nature abhors a vacuum, whoever is deported from the West Bank and Gaza Strip will usually be replaced by someone more extreme.

MK Ya'ir Tzaban (MAPAM) who visited Faysal al-Husayni in jail on Wednesday, said that al-Husayni expressed his consent to the proposal of holding elections in the territories provided that they were held on a free and democratic basis. According to Tzaban, al-Husayni is sure that the majority of the elected representatives

would be close to the PLO stand and would therefore demand, prior to or during the first meeting with the Israelis, the inclusion of PLO representatives from abroad in the dialogue.

In other words, al-Husayni is saying that if Israel wants to move towards solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, there is no escaping a direct dialogue with the PLO. An attempt to bypass the PLO by holding elections in the territories would according to the Palestinian leader, bring us back to square one.

If this government really wants to start a dialogue with Palestinian leaders in the territories, a first step towards it should be the immediate release of Faysal al-Husayni from administrative detention as a gesture of good will. Such a move—despite the fact that in two weeks he is due to be released anyway—would show that the government is sincerely interested in rapprochement with leaders in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Whether we like it or not, Faysal al-Husayni represents the Palestinians of the occupied areas, who are today our enemies. If we deport al-Husayni or continue to hold him in administrative detention, we will merely be drawing out an already protracted process. To do so will, in any event, inevitably lead to the same results: negotiations with the representatives of the Palestinians, i.e. the PLO.

Why not launch negotiations now instead of trying to avoid and bypass them, an attempt which can only lead to more bloodshed and more innocent victims?

Negative Impact of Closed Universities Discussed
44040083a Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in
Arabic 29 Oct 88 pp 38-44

[Excerpts] Education is the basis for bridging the gap among peoples and fostering love, and the reopening of the universities is crucial to this. So asserted the council of higher education in the occupied territories in the appeal which it directed last 20 September to the Israeli authorities regarding the need to work to reopen the universities, colleges and institutes of higher education in the regions which closed almost a year ago.

The decree closing the universities, which has become main subject of conversation as it touches the life of nearly every Palestinian family and individual, is no less damaging than all the measures the Jordanian authorities have taken relative to educational considerations; these have come at an inappropriate time, in the wake of the decree severing relations last 30 July. The loss of a full academic year of study in the lives of our university students, faculty members and existing university administrations, the halt in the operation of technical and technological equipment and machinery and the obstruction of the execution of the

programs, projects and plans that had been set out in accordance with a schedule that ends with the end of every academic year means a double loss: an academic one (educational and cultural) and a "purely" material one, in view of the large amounts the six universities in the occupied areas spend in the form of maintaining equipment and machinery, paying salaries and so forth—all this with the objective of preserving the structure of these educational institutions and their Palestinian identity, though they have remained in a state of "freeze" for an undetermined time.

In any event, the gist of the issue is that, in the final analysis, this decree (in the event it goes into effect with the current situation as the pretext) might be considered a cruel "blow" to the most sensitive or let us say strategic situation in the life of any nation or people which is fighting for freedom, peace, equality and the restoration of territory. This is especially so since our Palestinian people do not have real resources, sources and where-withal for development and real capital, aside from the strength of their educated young people; education is therefore the sole road to the exploitation of these minds, so that they may work and, with their muscles, build this nation in terms of culture, civilization, education, economy, society and so forth—that is, in the sense of realizing a comprehensive framework through which it can progress to the ranks of the advanced world.

Therefore, proceeding from the importance of education, and education for Palestinians, we have sought to shed light on the effects and negative features of this decree, sound a warning abroad and domestically and utter a loud cry. The cries of parents, students, professors and all officials and people concerned in this area are being reiterated, because no one has the power to make decisions or possesses the executive machinery to put pressure on the authorities, since the demand remains in the realm of "wishes" more than in the realm of "action." Ultimately nothing remains either except hopes which are attached to foreign bodies, so that they will act and bring about the requisite pressure toward decrees which tread upon human rights that international documents and laws and divine legislation have endorsed. [passage omitted]

There are facts and figures which must be mentioned, since they reflect the magnitude of the loss which is befalling our society through the closure decree. These are the suspension or freeze of the decree on the enrollment of hundreds of 1987-88 high school students in the universities. One should bear in mind that the numbers that have graduated, in spite of all the circumstances surrounding them, have inspired pride and satisfaction in these Palestinians' strength and insistence on continuing the path of education, as the following table asserts:

**Students Passing the General Secondary Certificate Examination on the
West Bank in All Educational Branches, 1987-88**

| Branch | Applying | Attending | Passing | Percentage |
|-------------|----------|-----------|---------|------------|
| Literature | 9,006 | 8,849 | 4,783 | 54 |
| Science | 3,527 | 3,495 | 2,480 | 70.9 |
| Commerce | 119 | 118 | 67 | 56.7 |
| Agriculture | 22 | 22 | 19 | 86.3 |
| Industry | 435 | 430 | 246 | 57.2 |
| Total | 13,109 | 12,914 | 7,595 | 57.9 |

The only comment on this table may be the question of where these students will go, since all doors and outlets are closed to them. Will the overall vision of the academic state of affairs in the occupied territories remain "murky" while the issue is pending, without any solution flashing on the horizon to protect these young forces from being transformed into severed arteries which never cease hemorrhaging, meaning falling into the trap of a "flight and drain" of these human resources? Or does the future warrant optimism, especially since the area is venturing toward radical political changes in accordance with what is going on in the occupied territories, and these will subsequently lead to changes in various levels of life in Palestinian society?

In any case the questions are numerous, although the answers are unlimited and not absolute and do not give a requisite answer in view of the crisis of education at present. However, what concerns us to the first degree is the issue of the reopening of the local universities, so that they will not just remain equipment and walls lacking activity—not to mention the material and moral loss.

Flexible Programs

What, however, are the views of academics and people concerned with educational issues in the area, regarding the problem of the university closings, the educational crisis with its serious consequences for the future, and the requisite way out of this?

Dr Sharif Kana'inah, lecturer at Bir Zayt University, stressed the nature of the negative effects of the closure decree. He said, "Of course there would be negative effects from the closure of institutes of higher learning for a year, and it is totally out of the question that such a decree could be to the benefit of these institutions, regardless of any considerations, for a simple reason: it prevents these institutions from carrying out the educational mission for which they exist, in addition to the loss which it inflicts on the university through payment of maintenance costs for machinery and equipment and other exorbitant overall expenditures. This is on the one hand. On the other, which is more important, there is the loss and waste of a whole year in the life and future of our university youth."

Dr Kana'inah expressed his fear regarding a drain of the best students to foreign universities, which means the universities will be losing their best students. This, conversely, has prevented hundreds of 1987-88 high school students from getting places in universities. He considers it a general imperative that what the universities are going through will lead to a general "crisis of confidence" between the universities and society, the populace and students, and this will consequently affect the decision as to whether they go to study abroad or domestically. If it was their decision to study domestically, that will be subjected to much hesitation and bewilderment.

On the role of the council of higher education, do domestic or foreign bodies exist which bear a responsibility? Dr Sharif Kana'inah responded by saying, "The council of higher education has not at any stage played the role expected of it, which is in keeping with its weight as a higher body responsible for higher academic institutions in the occupied territories; its role has become restricted merely to distributing financial allocations. However, we must not ignore either the fact of the control of it that is being exercised by the heads of universities; every university president acts in accordance with the special interests of his university institution, without dealing with this council as an independent body supervising the affairs of higher education in the regions. That is, the council has not yet reached the stage of forming an independent body in which authority belongs to the group, not to individuals."

He went on, "On this basis, I do not expect that the council of higher education, however strong its influence might be, will have the [power of] decisionmaking that effects influence, because the issue here is not who bears the responsibility but to whom the Israeli authorities listen. I believe that what is going on here is clear to the whole world and that the closure of the university institutions is an 'injustice,' but we come back and ask, once again, who can exert the pressure to raise this 'grievance?' I also believe that history has shown that the Israelis do not listen to world public opinion or the resolutions that are issued by the United Nations and the human rights organizations or UNESCO. Rather, I consider that the only one that has the decisionmaking [power] to exert pressure is the United States of America.

However, is American public opinion in our favor? It can exert pressure for the reopening of the universities, but in spite of the statements by many American officials and their assertion of the need for the universities in the occupied territories to be opened, these statements are quickly ignored and the closure decree is forgotten in whole and in part.

"For all these reasons, it is clear that bodies exist which have the power to exert the requisite pressure. Therefore, I recommend to all persons concerned with the matter to assume the worst for the academic situation in the country. Conversely, we must measure up to the challenge imposed by the other party and work by all possible means, in the sense that we must be creative, so that we can work, if only partially, until relief approaches."

He went on to say, "No one can separate the future conditions of education from the political element and the general conditions being experienced by the regions—conditions which they cannot control and then build a specific program for the future. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the true nature of what the academic future will be. However, we can anticipate what the universities will do, or what they must do, which is to create flexible programs and be able to perform a scholarly mission under sets of conditions very different from one another, and on the basis of this expect that circumstances will not be stable. These will require programs which will keep abreast of this state of affairs, for example the creation of teaching programs for students where they do not have to be present at places of study. This means recourse by the universities to something close to 'affiliation' for a period of time, until the circumstances become stable and settled. One should point out that 'affiliation' does not mean a drop in the students' level if the work is done in a serious, responsible and accurate manner."

He pointed to another consideration which the universities must resort to in the event the situation continues as it is, which is to make contracts with foreign academic institutions through which study during the academic years is to take place, in the sense of sending students to a specific university which will in exchange coordinate with the university concerned inside the occupied nation.

Dr Kana'inah once again stressed the importance of our being creative and innovative and anticipating the worst; the worst, which is the price we must pay for the sake of establishing a country, anticipates negative results. Our goal is to reduce these results by creating effective plans.

Dr Kan'an: Exploitation of Time

The decree closing the universities was not restricted in its side effects to the university students who in one way or another have joined the ranks of the unemployed. Rather, this decree has effectively and increasingly also

affected this number of administrators working in all educational institutions, and it has impeded the progress of people who want to get a graduate education.

That is what Dr Khalid Kan'an, chairman of the committee of academics at the College of Science and Technology in Abu Dis, referred to when he stated: "The closure of the universities and intermediate institutes means keeping more than 2,500 male and female students from receiving a graduate education; it also means keeping more than 1,300 academics from engaging in their right to teach and pursue scientific research, as well as preventing other academics from engaging in their administrative activity in these institutions. (Let us not forget, either, the deprivation which occurs to the same degree to our students and teacher colleagues, in numbers several times greater, at the school level.)"

He made the statement: "What we are being kept from is a natural right of anyone under any circumstances, which has been affirmed by the international laws prohibiting any occupying power from carrying out measures of closing educational institutions, including universities and institutes, and suspending the performance of their humane mission, which is service of the students and the society. In other words, what is happening is the suspension of the course of academic life with all the education, learning and all other services for society which that entails, for roughly the period of an academic year. This has the goal directly of keeping our people in ignorance, in addition to the other side effects resulting from this closure, which entail a large degree of risk which one must pay attention to, namely, that large numbers of students at various academic levels have thought about or have worked toward traveling abroad and leaving the nation, which is what the other party intends—emptying the land of its people by various means."

Dr Kan'an called for the need to put a stop to this measure in the future, even in the context of the continuation of the closure decrees, since our people, with all their groups, must continue as much as possible to work for the sake of deriving their rights in all fields, among them the cultural and academic rights, while they are on their territories.

He said, "Although at the outset we are insisting on our rights to education and learning inside our institutions, and are requesting the reopening of the educational institutions in Palestinian territories, we are at the same time requesting that we make the best use of our time, as students and teachers, on behalf of scholarly use and benefit in the framework of the existing situation; the council of higher education bears the responsibility for making this a success in the first place, and then the administrations of the universities, their faculties, their students and their guardians, respectively."

Dr Khalid Kan'an continued by saying, "In my opinion, in the context of these circumstances, it is possible to realize a specific portion of the academic goals rather than losing additional academic years, entailing a total academic loss, as happened last year more or less. In reality, all these abovementioned bodies must coordinate for the sake of achieving this and making a success of the educational alternatives which can be presented and considered. Thus we will have thwarted the schemes to make our people ignorant, and will have enabled them to continue in their struggle for a free independent life."

Finally, Dr Khalid Kan'an considered that hopes alone will not bring us the welcome future but that, through united, serious, sincere, honest work, we will be able to reach our goals. Certainly, our people, with their work, will arrive at more advanced forms of unity and struggle which will achieve the objectives.

Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush: Let Us View the Closure Decrees As If We Were Looking at a Yearly Calendar

Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush, dean of the Faculty of Letters and chairman of the department of sociology in Bethlehem University, talked about the effect of the decree closing the universities, institutes and colleges for an entire year when he said, "It is certain that the level of higher education in any country is affected by the obstacles or factors for encouragement that surround it, in the negative or positive sense. Education is like a plant which needs a suitable climate and suitable circumstances for its growth, and it needs facilities which provide it with support. Therefore, the decree closing the universities and higher institutes in the occupied territories, like the closing of the schools, has had negative effects on the students, universities and society and indeed on the course of development of civilization."

In addition, Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush combined the most important negative effects of the closure of the universities and institutes in the following points:

1. Prohibition of thousands of students from enrolling in local Palestinian universities, prohibition of more than 15,000 male and female students from pursuing their studies in Palestinian universities and institutes and obstruction of the matriculation of thousands of them.
2. Suspension of the role of the universities and institutes in building society and offering it services, including the suspension of volunteer activity the students carry out as part of their commitment to service to their society and its development.
3. A freeze in the development of the university libraries and suspension of their role in providing culture to the society and providing the desired facilities for everyone seeking knowledge.

4. Obstruction of the course of scientific research and specialized studies, for which the universities are considered the most important centers in the absence of developed public libraries outside the framework of universities and higher institutes.

Dr 'Ayyush mentioned that there are other side effects which are no less important, as he pointed out:

1. Confusing students and the populace alike and compelling them to seek education abroad which might not be necessary or suitable from all standpoints.
2. Wasting money and undermining the financial capabilities of families and the society when students are sent abroad.
3. Fossilizing young minds and afflicting the Palestinian democratic structure with a drain which this time is targeted at its young people and their promise for the future.
4. Weakening the spirit of learning and creating a psychological climate of debilitation and increased idle time among students, which at times prompts a gradual estrangement from educational institutions, since they go off to work for wages and become less enthusiastic about studying.

He pointed out that if we take the recent decree closing the university and educational institutions into consideration, the only explanation of this decree is to kill the society, because a society will not live and grow without knowledge.

Concerning the role of the council of higher education in this matter, Dr Dhiyab said, "Before all else, I would like to say that it is the duty of every individual and every responsible national body or institution to exert every possible effort to keep the universities and higher institutions open to people seeking knowledge; this is because learning is an absolute right in all conditions and circumstances and it is not permissible to suspend it, from the standpoint of civilization and humanity. Since the council of higher education is the body supervising the affairs of higher education in the occupied territories, it bears the major burden of this responsibility and its members must not hesitate a second before realizing this goal; this is especially so since the members of the executive committee bear a special responsibility in its capacity as the entity in charge of preserving the continuity and development of the universities."

Dr 'Ayyush continued his statement: "While we are aware of the difficult circumstances the society is going through in all its sectors, it is truly sad that we should find ourselves looking at the closure decrees every month as if we were scrutinizing an annual calendar and turning a page every morning, to come to another new one without stopping at a specific stage and without being able to explain the justice of our academic cause and

defend our right to education, in spite of the proliferation of verbal and written protests against the council of higher education's inadequacy in doing what must be done to restore academic life in the institutes and universities. It is truly amazing that we should see the academic committee extending the membership period for another year without receiving agreement from the institutions, which alone have the right regarding this extension or the rejection of it—especially since many council members have lost their role as representatives of specific sectors, since new elected representatives have taken their place. Therefore, putting a halt to this illegitimate extension and electing a new committee of representation which will perhaps succeed in restoring life to the academic institutions now that the wait has gone on, and we have lost much, is at the top of the pressing priorities."

Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush recommended exerting additional efforts at all levels and deriving benefit from the previous experience which the Palestinian higher institutions and universities have gone through in the course of the lengthy closures. He said, "I believe that the participation by guardians in requesting their reopening will support the position of the administrations of the universities and institutes as well as the position of the council of higher education. There is no better option than opening the universities, institutes and schools to instruction as well, since they are the optimum location for learning and scientific research alike."

"There are also many problems which are occurring along with the continued suspension of educational and academic institutions. There are also problems which will become prominent after the reopening of these institutions, although they differ in their nature from the problems of closure. The most important problems which are anticipated after the opening of these institutions is the problem of the students' readjustment to regular academic life after this long cutoff from education, now that they, that is the students, have stood out as the ones most affected by the events of the uprising and the ones who have been harmed by the Israeli measures arising from it. There is also the problem of the adjustment of the teachers themselves to the students, who have gained new experience during the whole year and have built new personalities; they require teachers who are able to grasp them and deal with them in a manner in which all changes will be taken into account."

Dr 'Ayyush said, "From the viewpoint of the students, especially the students in institutes and universities, the problem of payment of [tuition] installments will also stand out now that the financial conditions of many families have been affected and their incomes decreased because of the current circumstances. There is an appeal to universities and institutes to seek a suitable way of helping these families by reducing the price of the installments when studies resume."

He also pointed to the possibility of the emergence of problems in conjunction with the new social relations which have emerged among students during the uprising and the period of closure. These relations require the attention of specialists so that their positive aspects may be developed, so that they can be used to deepen understanding between the students and their teachers and increase the effort at academic development and the building of society.

He said, "My confidence is great that our students today are older than the students of yesterday, more mature and more sensitive to responsibility, and find a means for further constructive interaction within the academic institutions through the attention of specialists and teachers. My confidence is also great that the university teachers will find themselves thirsting to develop this understanding and work to develop it with all affection and sincerity."

It Is Necessary To Intensify Efforts

Dr Sa'ib 'Urayqat, professor of political science at the al-Najah National University, talked about retention of the decree to extend the closure of the universities for a period of another year, saying "The decree to close the universities will have the effect of creating many problems on a number of levels. There are problems related to new students. As is well known the students of the academic year 1987-88 were unable to continue with their lectures and remained at the first level. Here we are now in the year 1988-89, and the universities are supposed to admit a new class. With the closure, the universities cannot teach, and if the closure continues, that will mean another first year class and thus the first year classes will amount to three when the universities open. This in itself creates great administrative, organizational and academic problems."

Dr 'Urayqat continued his statement: "Of course there are other problems related to the students of the other years (second, third and fourth years). When the university is opened after a closure of a year or two, that will require much effort if the students are to regain what they studied the previous years."

He referred to other problems in the context of scholarly research connected to academicians, researchers and teachers, as well as problems related to buildings, libraries and development, but he considered the possibility that they could be solved through the joint intensification of efforts by the students, workers and administrators in the universities.

As to the great specter, as Dr 'Urayqat described it, that will continue to be focussed on the possibility of the continuity of academic activity, which is a matter that is not directed at the students and administrations! [passage omitted]

The Closures and the Loss of a Whole Generation

Dr Ziyad 'Abidin of Hebron University summarized the effect of the decree extending the closure of the universities and academic institutions as leading to the loss of a whole generation, a great academic loss and a social vacuum, which cannot easily be made up.

He summarized these negative effects of this decree in a number of points:

1. Suspension of the dynamism of the educational cycle.
2. Academic atmosphere has become a secondary matter relative to national considerations.
3. The closure of the universities has led to intellectual and academic laxity and waste in the case of many students.
4. The poor economic circumstances which prevail at present have led to a change in the method of thinking among many students and their tendency to make a living by any possible means to alleviate their economic burden on their families.
5. The killing, wounding and arrest of large numbers of students have had a negative effect on academic spirit among students.
6. The halt in the development plan of the universities and educational institutions on the bank and in the strip and their change in the program of priorities.
7. The inability to absorb all recent academically qualified persons because of the suspension in academic life.

As to the other side effects, Dr Ziyad 'Abidin holds them responsible for the withdrawal of a large number of students registered in the university because of the impossibility of opening the universities and also the lack of thought students give to enrolling in universities because of the absence of any kind of political and economic stability; to all of this should be added the decline in the level of general awareness among students, who represent the major portion of the society, and the effect of that on the other sectors.

The closure of the universities also leads to the weakening of interaction among universities and their interaction with academic institutions outside the country.

In addition, he recommended that the council of higher education carry out an intensified study to find the solutions and alternatives to guarantee the continuation of the academic cycle; he spoke of the need for coordination among universities on the West Bank and in the strip to confront the current situation, as well as the need

to carry out a media campaign inside and outside the region and inform the international and foreign institutions involved of the negative effects of the continued closure.

Dr Ziyad 'Abidin attributes the responsibility for this sort of role not just to the council of higher education; rather, a large portion of this responsibility also lies with the press, ambassadors, consuls, university professors, other social and cultural institutions and guardians to intensify further activities to cope with the current situation.

Concerning these solutions and recommendations which will guarantee that another academic year is not lost, he considered that it was necessary to stimulate the universities, with all their institutions and facilities, to graduate students whose matriculation has been suspended because of a few accredited hours; he pointed out that the alternative was not like the original, and also that there should be an attempt to spread common education to all areas.

With regard to the problems the universities will face after their reopening, Dr Ziyad 'Abidin said:

"Following their reopening, some problems will face the institutes of higher learning, such as the drain of academic personnel from the universities in the occupied territories; the drain of large numbers of students from the universities on the bank and in the strip; the attempt to regain the dynamism of education following a long suspension; attempts to stimulate the channels of communication with institutions inside and outside the occupied territories; the attempt to renew and maintain the equipment, machinery and chemicals which have gone to waste because of the long closure; and the creation of the necessary source of financing to carry out the preceding requirements."

The Flight Abroad

Dr Mahmud Mi'ari, professor of sociology at Bir Zayt University, talked about the effect that the university closures are having on the level of higher education. He pointed out that the separation of students from studies for a long period of time has made it difficult for them to make a connection among the various academic courses, especially the courses they studied before the closure and those they will study after the reopening of the universities; thus the subject of specialization will not be an integrated unit but a quantity of isolated courses which are not interrelated.

He went on to say, "In addition, the closure of the universities for a long period might prompt some students who are good academically, especially those whose economic situation so permits, to leave the local universities and enroll in other ones outside the country.

Therefore it is expected that characteristics of mediocre educational attainment or low economic status will prevail among the students in local universities after their opening."

Dr Mahmud Mi'ari said, "From all this, it is to be concluded that the low economic level in local universities will increase."

Thus, with the continued closure of the universities, Dr Mi'ari did not hope that it would be possible to limit the loss of these academic years among our students, as he said, "I do not believe that it will be possible to make up the loss of another university year, as long as the universities are closed. Therefore it is necessary to put pressure on the Israeli authorities to work to open the universities and other educational institutions. Nonetheless, I believe in the need to help the students who require only a few accredited hours for matriculation, for example by finishing the few remaining courses as a part of independent studies in which the student will essentially depend on himself. The academic level of these students will not decline much, because they have finished the bulk of their studies in the university context and in regular or nearly regular circumstances." [passage omitted]

Above, we have talked to a number of professors and academicians working in various universities and institutions of higher education. We have learned about the negative and side effects which the decree extending the closure of the universities for the period of another year represents, the loss of another academic year that this subsequently causes for thousands of students and the role of the council of higher learning in the decree. What, however, about the students themselves, who have suffered the major loss arising from such decrees? What have they done, and what are they saying?

Frustration!

At Bir Zayt University, pain unites all students, as in all universities, since it is no longer just a matter of guesses or expectations which arise for discussion concerning the possibility of going or not going back to the places of study. To some it has become a matter of the perhaps unintentional execution of the goals which lie behind the ongoing closure decrees, and the question which arises is, how can one stop the flow of our students abroad, and what do they themselves say about this series of measures?

A second-year student in the Faculty of Commerce at Bir Zayt, who preferred not to mention his name, said, "The military authorities' decree closing the universities and institutions of higher learning on the bank and in the strip has of course had great negative effects on the level of higher education in the country. We as university students know that the educational process is an integrated ongoing one whose progress depends basically on its continuity. Therefore, halting it at a specific point means of course bringing it a number of steps back. On the other hand, the effect of the decree on the students

themselves has undoubtedly caused the majority a feeling of frustration and pessimism. The university student, when he unexpectedly ceases to continue with his studies, without knowing if there is a possibility for continuing them, will think seriously of abandoning the notion of studying or traveling abroad to continue it. Either situation is difficult and extremely painful in our current circumstances."

He addressed the role of the council of higher education in its capacity as the body responsible for the institutions of learning and regulation of the educational process, stressing the need to seek seriously through all means to put pressure on the authorities to reopen these institutions, which must remain educational institutions only, and the need for them to adhere to this role. They are a real resource, if used in the proper manner.

The optimum solution, in the view of the second-year student at Bir Zayt University, lies in the immediate opening of the universities and the resumption of studies as soon as possible. He said, "As I said previously, a substantial segment of the students have actually traveled to study abroad, and an additional number have gravitated toward areas of work, in spite of their unsuitability. Therefore, in order to prevent this situation from continuing, it is necessary to exert every possible effort to reopen the universities at the earliest opportunity."

The student said, "With the reopening of the universities, the students will be faced with numerous difficulties. I believe that the most important of these lies in the great majority of them having suspended studies for a long period, which has resulted in forgetting most of the courses they had previously studied. However, this problem can be overcome with some effort and cooperation between the students and the faculty."

A Void in Learning

A female second-year student from Bir Zayt University said, "The decree on the ongoing closure of universities and colleges on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has had many negative effects on the level of higher education in the country. This is especially so because the percentage of people studying in universities and colleges in the country, without any exaggeration, is to be considered large; all the information related to the Palestinian people indicates that they have the highest percentage of university graduates, indeed people getting doctorates."

She added, "If this prohibition on education and learning continues, the state of higher education will gradually worsen and it is to be feared that the situation will end in collapse—something which might prompt some students to leave the country and travel to any foreign country to study or to work. Usually, they choose to work, especially given such circumstances and the hard, complex

economic hardships they inflict; this makes it mandatory that the student work to try seriously to pay the costs of the exorbitant [tuition] installments which burden the family."

This student pointed out, in accordance with her personal observations, that this sort of effect has not just left its marks on the students but has spread among the teachers and professors in all universities and institutes, since the majority of them, with the continuation of the closure, are determining to leave teaching to seek other job opportunities. She said, "This in itself guarantees the drain of capable and competent scholarly university persons and their move and gravitation to other countries to reach contracts with them to teach in their institutes and universities, which is what is called the 'creation of an educational vacuum.'"

In her capacity as a student she addressed herself to these psychological effects which the continuous series of closures will be imparting until further notice to the students' psychology, stating "There are other things which are considered to be side effects of these decrees, such as the factor of psychological frustration, for instance, which the competent authorities are aiming at by launching the numerous campaigns which are not different from the closure itself and are directed at students as individuals. A day or two before the first decree on the closure of any university is 'broken out,' when the student has prepared himself to be admitted and enter another academic year, he is surprised to see the period of closure extended for another unknown period. That in itself guarantees that frustration and boredom are sown within ourselves, and indeed other things, if 'these people' knew the nature of them when the closure occurred."

A List of Closures of Institutes of Higher Education by Military Order

| Name of University | Dates Closed | | Notes |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|--|
| | From | To | |
| Bethlehem University | 2 October 1985 | 2 October 1985 | |
| | 30 October 1985 | 30 October 1985 | |
| | 31 October 1985 | 31 October 1985 | |
| | 1 November 1985 | 4 November 1985 | |
| | 29 November 1985 | 29 November 1985 | |
| | 31 December 1985 | 31 December | |
| | 10 October 1986 | 14 November 1986 | |
| | 29 October 1986 | 14 November 1986 | [as published] |
| Bir Zayt University | 15 December 1973 | 31 December 1973 | |
| | 26 March 1979 | 4 April 1979 | |
| | 3 May 1979 | 2 July 1979 | |
| | 14 November 1980 | 22 November 1980 | |
| | 4 November 1981 | 4 January 1982 | |
| | 16 February 1982 | 16 April 1982 | |
| | 8 July 1982 | 8 October 1982 | |
| | 2 February 1984 | 2 May 1984 | Old campus. |
| | 2 April 1984 | 2 May 1984 | New campus. |
| | 8 March 1985 | 8 May 1985 | New campus. |
| | 8 December 1986 | 13 January 1987 | Old campus and death of two students. |
| | 18 February 1987 | 22 February 1987 | |
| | 26 February 1987 | 6 April 1987 | |
| | 13 April 1987 | 21 April 1987 | |
| | 2 May 1987 | 4 May 1987 | |
| | 13 October 1987 | 18 October 1987 | |
| | 29 October 1987 | 29 January 1988 | Death of the student Ishaq Abu Sarur and injury to others. The closure order is still in effect. |
| | 8 December 1986 | 3 January 1987 | The old campus of the university and the death of two students. |
| | 18 February 1987 | 22 February 1987 | Old and new campuses. |
| | 27 March 1987 | 30 March 1987 | Old and new campuses. |
| | 13 April 1987 | 13 August 1987 | Old and new campuses and death of one student and injury to others. |
| | 10 January 1988 | 10 February 1988 | |

A List of Closures of Institutes of Higher Education by Military Order

| Name of University | Dates Closed | | Notes |
|---|-------------------|------------------|--|
| | From | To | |
| Al-Najah National University | 31 December 1986 | 11 January 1987 | |
| | 12 January 1987 | 18 January 1987 | |
| | 19 January 1987 | 19 January 1987 | One day. |
| | 31 January 1987 | 31 January 1987 | One day. |
| | 7 February 1987 | 7 February 1987 | One day. |
| | 10 February 1987 | 9 March 1987 | Injury to seven students. |
| | 26 March 1987 | 11 April 1987 | |
| | 18 April 1987 | 25 April 1987 | |
| | 16 May 1987 | 16 May 1987 | One day. |
| | 6 June 1987 | 7 June 1987 | |
| | 24 June 1987 | 24 June 1987 | One day. |
| | 4 July 1987 | 4 July 1987 | One day. |
| The Islamic University of Gaza | 16 February 1987 | 18 February 1987 | |
| | 22 February 1987 | 3 March 1987 | |
| | 20 April 1987 | 26 April 1987 | Raid on the university and injury to 56 students. |
| | 25 May 1987 | 27 May 1987 | |
| | 8 June 1987 | 23 June 1987 | |
| | 10 October 1987 | 14 October 1987 | Injury to 13 students. |
| | 19 December 1987 | 11 January 1988 | A decree was issued closing it and the Religious Institute in Gaza for a period of 4 weeks. The authorities welded its doors and the closure order is still in effect. |
| Hebron University | 23 March 1983 | 23 May 1983 | |
| | 26 July 1983 | 29 July 1983 | |
| | 22 February 1987 | 15 March 1987 | |
| | 17 September 1987 | 4 October 1987 | |
| | 20 December 1987 | 20 January 1988 | The closure order is still in effect. |
| Arab Faculties of Medical Professions | 14 April 1987 | 27 April 1987 | |
| | 12 December 1987 | 20 December 1987 | |
| Faculty of Science and Technology | 8 April 1987 | 18 April 1987 | |
| | 7 June 1987 | 20 June 1987 | |
| | 23 December 1987 | 23 January 1988 | The closure order is still in effect. |
| The Hebron Engineering Technical College | 8 April 1987 | 18 April 1987 | |
| | 20 December 1987 | 20 January 1988 | The closure order is still in effect and the secondary school belonging to it was closed for a month as of 22 December 1987. |
| The Female Teachers' Institute, Ramallah | 22 December 1987 | 21 January 1988 | The closure order is still in effect. |
| The Male Teachers' Institute, Ramallah Belonging to the Relief Agency | 22 December 1987 | 21 January 1988 | The closure order is still in effect. (The closure order was issued retroactively on 29 December 1987.) |

Concerning the role of the council of higher education in this area, the Bir Zayt University student said, "In the character of the council of higher education which is responsible for all universities in the country, it must in accordance with this responsibility take all possible means to turn the issue of the closure into an international humanitarian one. Education is the right of rights which international documents have endorsed. Therefore the council must assume

the task of shifting the view of people who are concerned that the closure decree taken against the universities is in violation of international documents and the human rights of any of the peoples of this world, and that it is necessary to work to honor such documents, not just because it is an international law, as we have said above, but because it is part of our right as a people who have no capital except knowledge and educated persons."

This student did not consider that the role just lies upon the shoulders of the council of higher education, since fathers and teachers, and indeed students themselves, have their role in this work. She said, "The students have a role in finding alternatives that will guarantee that they take their academic courses. So do the teachers, who must take every measure to compensate the students for what has passed them by; and so does everyone who has a hand in the academic process and the media that are available, in the form of newspapers, bulletins and magazines; they must devote great attention to this subject through investigations and illustrated reports so that they do not fall back into the framework of the closed university alone and become a local issue which can be solved easily!"

She added, "Why haven't we looked for someone on whom we can impose the responsibility? I consider that the whole of Palestinian society is responsible for this issue and it must interact with it and on behalf of it. Perhaps it will find a way to a solution. Who knows?"

"One can imagine that in order to eliminate the loss of another university year, especially if the authorities continue with their 'stubbornness' and constantly renew the closures, it would not be bad to turn toward what resemble or are called 'open universities.'"

"There the studies are through correspondence." She said, "The administrations of all closed universities must investigate this matter, propose other solutions, adhere to one of them and also work to allot hours of gradual compensation to the students for whom a few hours remain and then the other students who are still at the beginning of their university academic careers. In spite of the difficulty of this approach at the beginning, it is better than nothing."

The same holds true for the attainment of the dream of the students and professors to have the universities open their doors and have the decree on closure taken against the universities frozen. There are many problems and difficulties which the students will face on their return to studies, which this student sums up in the statement: "Perhaps one of the most important problems the students will face is the absence of large numbers of students and workers in the university because of arrests, travel or the like, which obstruct the teaching process in the relative sense. In addition, all this has an effect on the economic situation, since the majority of students will be incapable of paying the high [tuition] installments to a large degree. In this case we hope that the university administration will take the existing conditions and their attendant circumstances into account."

The Year of Graduation, with a Halt in Execution

The opinion of a fourth-year student in the electrical engineering department at Bir Zayt University did not differ from any view that would be expressed by a

student in the same graduation year as his or in his university, or even experiencing the same effect as he has had through the decree closing the universities in this beloved country.

He stated, "As well as guaranteeing that it will suspend the academic course of higher education, and indeed the whole academic course, this decree also has a negative effect on the students' social life, since it has created a kind of discrimination and fragmentation.

"With its presence, and normal academic life, the university brought all students together and thus formed an intellectual, practical, academic and mass meeting point for all groups of students from the strip and the north and south of the bank. In the case of the teachers themselves, it was the thing which united people's opinions, raised people's thoughts to the level of collective responsibility and created the spirit of cooperation and brotherhood. However, the closure decree has obstructed the presence of these demands since some people have gone to their towns and villages, which are spread out over the length and breadth of the nation. In addition, it has led to the creation of obvious gaps in the structure of educational courses, since it has created a gap in time between the academic courses the students took before the closure decree and the other courses they will take following the decree opening the university, in the event such a decree is taken. This has prompted the students to forget some academic courses. This all is bringing the level of higher education dozens, indeed hundreds, of steps back."

He presented a number of recommendations for the administration of the universities which would guarantee that the drain of students from the country would be limited. They could also inhibit the possibility losing another university year. He said, "The administration of the universities must organize intensive courses for students in various places in order to compensate them for what they have missed and offer a glimmer of hope which will prompt them to stay in the universities and not go to other countries." He added, "In spite of the difficulty of the matter, it is a means for guaranteeing that the level of higher education is retained."

Though he is like the thousands of students who have been "crammed" into the embrace of the boring compulsory vacation, he has tried to create a connection between this vacation and his "disconnected" study and his graduation project, since he has determined to train in computer use and work on computer maintenance methods. He has worked to complete the project of his graduation "of unknown date" and of course the situation has not been lacking in the provision of assistance to household and farm work, since he has been compelled to stay there, especially since there are no other places to which a student might seek recourse except the closed university and the home, whose members are few, no matter how extensive it might be.

And so on. Aside from the students of Bir Zayt, there are the students of Hebron (al-Rahman) and the students of Gaza (Hashim), Nabulus (al-Nar Mountain) and all the closed universities with whom the time has not been sufficient to meet, although their opinion of course has not differed at all from those of the students and professors above.

Till When?

At the end, we once again repeat the question: Where will our students go at a time when all doors have been closed in their young faces?

Will the obscurity of guessing the future continue to lack clarity of vision?

Will the repeated decree on the closure of the universities remain an annual calendar which we will turn over whenever a year passes, dragging a murkier year after it?

Till when will our educational organizations remain mere walls in being, without any benefit to speak of, through these decrees?

Many questions are repeated. We will leave their answer to views and expectations of optimism which might exist on the Palestinian stage. Who knows?

BAHRAIN

Arab Funds To Help Establishment of Bank 44040127 Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 12 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by 'Abd-al-Muttalib al-Sayrafi]

[Text] It seems that the conference, "Bahrain's Foreign Trade: Reality and Future Prospects," has revealed differing attitudes toward at least two problems, both closely connected because both involve how to correct the chronic imbalance in the nonoil balance of trade.

The first problem is a system to finance Bahraini exports. It became clear from the discussion that there are organizational settings and channels that support this direction from which local exporters have not benefited previously. 'Abd-al-Hamid al-'Arradi, director of international relations in the Finance Ministry, said in the course of his remarks at the closing session, "By virtue of its membership in the Islamic Development Bank headquartered at Jiddah in Saudi Arabia and the Arab Organization to Guarantee Investment headquartered in Kuwait, Bahrain is bound by agreements that give exporters unlimited advantages and opportunities to profit from systems to guarantee inter-Arab and Arab-Islamic trade."

'Abd-al-Hamid al-'Arradi, who closed the discussion at the opening meeting about the extent of the need to establish organizations to finance local exports, explained that these systems, with the procedures and

guarantees they establish, were capable of helping local exporters increase the proportion of their exports to Arab and Islamic countries, without the need for establishing new organizations.

Certain Arab and European countries, as well as the United States, have established specialized agencies to finance their overseas exports in order to support and encourage their domestic production. In the case of Bahrain, due to the limited nature of its exports and their lack of diversity in terms of commodity and geography, an organization would, he believes, be more of a burden than a tool to facilitate the flow of local exports abroad.

The second problem—there was obvious confusion between it and a system for financing exports—was the extent to which it would be possible to found a bank to finance the establishment of new industries.

The discussions revealed that Bahrain is among three Third World countries in which annual individual income does not exceed \$200 and which do not possess a specialized agency to finance local industries. One noticed that the official view, which will be proposed to the closing session, tried to push in the direction of "profiting from national banking institutions, in cooperation with the Bahrain Monetary Organization, to create a system to provide loans on easy terms for industrial financing." On the other hand, representatives of the private sector—especially Khalid Rashid al-Zayyati, adhered to the idea of establishing an industrial bank on the model of what is being implemented in neighboring fraternal countries. Defending his idea, he said, "Existing commercial banks cannot risk financing long-term loans at low interest rates."

As a solution for the problem of a shortage of government financing, al-Zayyati called for the participation of public organizations and public retirement funds, which, he said, possess "enormous funds for participating in establishing an industrial bank specializing in financing new industrial projects."

Most of the responses to this view focused on "the unavailability of public funds" and the lack of need for new organizations. Mr Qasim Fakhru, president of the Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry, who co-chaired the closing session, said, "We must start from what is possible and not propose impossible ideas."

This call for the establishment of a bank for industrial financing takes on particular importance because it is one of the basic means for strengthening the tendency to create substitution industries that contribute to ending dependence on importation from abroad and that restore balance to the nonoil balance of trade.

Resting one's case on "the unavailability of public funds" is not a sufficient excuse for not going forward to develop a specialized organization to finance new industries, or at least—as Hasan Zayn-al-'Abidin, vice-president of the Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said—"thinking about how to benefit from existing organizations, such as the Gulf Organization for Investment, which specializes in financing industrial projects for both public and private sectors."

These two problems—a system to finance exports, and establishment of an industrial bank—were the focal points of the conference, which lasted 3 days and received considerable local interest both from government officials and from representatives of the private sector. Despite the repeated elastic recommendations that were read aloud at the end of the conference—it was decided to amalgamate half of them because of their vagueness or purely theoretical nature—in my view the conference nevertheless represents an important step that should continue on a number of levels, in affirmation of the principle, "diversification of the structure of exports," and correction of the deficit in the nonoil balance of trade.

Batelco Training for Bahrainization

44000244d Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English
28 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] Batelco has spent about BD1.7 million this year on training Bahraini employees, and will spend BD1.9 million next year, it was revealed yesterday.

Minister of Transportation and chairman of Batelco, Ibrahim Humaydan, said training had contributed to achieving 88.5 percent of Bahrainisation in the company.

A 'Training Day' celebration was held at the Gulf Hotel yesterday where Mr Humaydan presented certificates to 183 Batelco employees who have completed various training programmes.

Mr Humaydan described training as a key to achieving the company's objectives of Bahrainisation and of enhancing its services to the public.

"Batelco not only provides the latest in telecommunications technology, but the technology is mostly run, operated and maintained to a large extent, by Bahraini nationals," he said.

Increase

Jasim al-Binali, divisional manager administration, who spoke on behalf of the management, said next year's training budget of BD1.9 million would be 125 percent more than that of 1981 when Batelco was established.

"The number of employees trained also showed some 196 percent increase during the same period," he added.

Mr al-Binali said six of the employees completed their Bachelor of Science degrees, seven of them Higher National Diploma (HND) and one of them a diploma in personal management from UK.

Trade Licenses for Gulf Nationals Granted

44000244b Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English
21 Dec 88 p 13

[Text] Manama—Twenty Gulf nationals have been granted commercial registrations to run businesses in Bahrain this year—the first under new GCC rules.

Latest figures from the commercial agencies section at the Commerce Ministry show 75 percent of the successful applications were from Saudis.

The rest were spread among Omanis, Kuwaitis, Qataris and UAE nationals.

Muhammad 'Ajur, head of commercial agencies, said 1988 was the first year in which applications had been accepted, under resolutions adopted by the GCC commercial cooperation committee.

These allow people from member states to carry out business activities in each other's countries.

"Those involved live in Bahrain and are mostly in the services field, including contractors and consultants," said Mr 'Ajur.

Meanwhile, 384 new registrations have been issued this year, bringing the total to almost 7,250 since 1976.

Gulf Spending on Importing Food

44000244a Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English
29 Dec 88 p 20

[Text] A conference on food security in the Arab Gulf region was last week told that since 1980 the Arab world has imported \$200 billion worth of foodstuffs.

The food security situation in the Arab world "is not satisfactory," Secretary-General of the Arab Federation of Food Industries Falah Sa'id Jabir told the opening session of the conference in Shariqah.

Food insufficiency is the chronic problem of each and every Arab country, he deplored.

He noted that the six Arab Gulf Cooperation Council states, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, pay \$8 billion a year to buy foodstuffs.

Production of the Arab world, he went on, meets 51 percent of demand for grains, 33 percent of sugar consumption, 44 percent of vegetable oils, 65 percent of red meat, 78 percent of eggs and 50 percent of the demand for dairy products.

He warned that if the existing shortages persisted, the Arab world will have to import foodstuffs worth anything between \$70 billion and \$100 billion a year to fill the gaps.

The same figures, he said, accounts for half the overall Arab Gross National Products (GNP) and is well more than the annual Arab oil revenues.

EGYPT

Reasons Behind U.S. Policy Change Explored
45040126 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
18 Dec 88 p7

[Article by Salamah Ahmad Salamah]

[Text] In the blink of an eye and quasi-surprisingly, America's position changed from irrational and incomprehensible rejection to conditional acceptance of opening the door to dialogue with the PLO. With that Washington has raised the 1975 ban imposed by Kissinger against holding any contacts with the PLO and its representatives unless it unambiguously agreed to Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which include recognition of Israel's right to exist, and unless the PLO announced its rejection of all forms of terrorism. There is no doubt that America made this change reluctantly, after many complicated contacts and calculations that involved many parties, Arab, European, and Israeli. It would be premature for us to judge the extent to which America can or will go in this new direction, and whether it is a serious, sincere attempt to seek out a new path to a just peace and stability in the region based on an even-handed view of legitimate Palestinian rights, or whether it is only a play for time, to get past international circumstances that have placed America and Israel on one side of the scale and the whole world on the other side, in a way that has threatened America's credibility.

It is not easy for a great state to change its positions in this way, from one opposite to another or to something resembling the opposite, and to abandon its stubbornness, unless there were strong reasons. Even though pragmatism remains a distinguishing feature in American policy, reflected in many previous positions when America negotiated with its former adversaries or enemies, as in Vietnam and with China and with the revolutionary regime in Nicaragua, with respect to the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict it continued to cling to a number of rigid positions and exorbitantly costly stances for Israel's sake. The latest of these stances was when Shultz refused to grant an entry visa to 'Arafat to attend the debate of the Palestinian question in the United Nations General Assembly in New York. The subsequent transfer of the General Assembly to Geneva, and the taking of a quasi-unified world stance, led to an increase in world support for the latest Palestinian positions in an unexpected way that shook the American position, and prompted other states that previously had had neither a large nor small role in dealing with the

problems of the Middle East to undertake outstanding diplomatic roles. One such state was Sweden, which during this period engaged in delicate diplomatic efforts to keep the peace offensive going that 'Arafat had launched following the resolutions of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

Even though we do not deny that Sweden might have acted through individual initiative and independent action on its part in arranging this meeting between 'Arafat and the Jewish delegation in Stockholm, just two days before he made his important and decisive speech before the United Nations General Assembly in Geneva, we also do not dismiss the notion that this move might have been made with the knowledge of, and in coordination with, the American Government, which apparently wanted to test by all possible means the extent of 'Arafat's determination and the determination of the PLO to continue down the road that it had decided to take.

Fortunately, political and diplomatic developments followed upon one another with unusual speed, and the Palestinians, headed by 'Arafat, are moving with the same rhythm and speed. In fact, it sometimes seems as if 'Arafat had decided to run in the race in a way that would force the others to follow him and pant at his heels. Nobody had expected that there would be any change in the situation, especially on the part of America, until after the Bush administration came to power in the White House, and after the new Israeli Government had been formed.

When I was in London last week, it seemed from the discussions and inclinations of British officials that Washington would continue to adhere to its rigid, obstinate position towards Palestinian moves, and would not admit to recognizing that they represented a new point of departure for resuming settlement efforts and entering into a dialogue with the PLO, except in a very limited way, considering them to be nothing more than a small step that was not enough to bring about the desired progress. It seemed as if Britain had begun to congratulate itself for taking on the role of persuading the upcoming Bush administration to review this position. Some of the British newspapers commented on that, saying that America and Israel would never be convinced of the earnestness of 'Arafat's positions and his commitments that he had announced in the PNC decisions, and subsequently in his public statements in the Stockholm communique, even after he had made his clear and unequivocal speech, unless he came to them clean-shaven, having removed the distinctive Palestinian headdress that he is accustomed to wearing, and wearing instead an ordinary suit, perhaps preferably of American make. This commentary was an indication of how enormous were the concessions that the Americans want from 'Arafat.

Therefore it was not surprising that America clung—before the latest turnabout—to its positions that seemed

astounding to everybody, beyond all political or international logic. The American administration kept on reiterating at every occasion, with every statement or news conference about the PLO or its leaders, that the Palestinian position towards the points that America demanded and insisted upon was not absolutely clear, that 'Arafat had not mentioned Israel by name when speaking about recognition of the Security Council resolutions, that he had not said where the borders of the Palestinian state that he had proclaimed would be, and that he had not made it clear whether he acknowledged that acts of violence within the occupied territories fell within the kind of terrorism that he had specified he would commit himself to rejecting. And while the world was occupied with the visit of Gorbachev to Washington [sic], which was cut short by the events of the tragic earthquake in Armenia, and his new initiative for arms reduction, the political missiles being fired now from Washington and again from Israel were flying across the world's sky aimed at the courageous Palestinian move, in an attempt to abort and bury it prematurely.

In spite of that, I am not one of those who believe that Washington has made an intrinsic change in its position towards the Palestinian question after its latest decision to lift the ban on contact with the PLO. I am not one of those who describe this decision as an historic turnaround.

It would be preferable to say that Washington had become convinced at last of the need to change its method of dealing with the question, and that it found itself facing international pressures that had reached a consensus that there was no way to avoid dealing with the PLO at precisely this stage. 'Arafat had succeeded in rallying moderate powers that believe that in following him the Arab-Israeli conflict could be directed along peaceful roads, and in neutralizing the extremist forces that were and still are opposed to this method, and that do not believe that America is qualified to play a role in designing a just peace in the region. That said, we must still exercise the virtues of caution, reservation, and perceptiveness, and wait to see how the American-Palestinian contacts go, so that we may grasp the true nature of the change that has occurred in the American position and to what extent it goes.

Consequently, if we wished to summarize the most important gains achieved from the latest American decision, they could be summed up in two important points:

First: That for the first time America has recognized the right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people and to speak on their behalf. Consequently, it implicitly recognizes the legitimate Palestinian establishments, foremost of which is the PNC. Even though America may have stated publically that its decision does not imply recognition of the Palestinian state, it still implies a recognition of a Palestinian entity and of a Palestinian identity which has political status which establishes political and international rights that cannot be denied.

Second: The fall of the official ban that Kissinger had imposed on American policy, and indeed on many of the western states, on dealing with or contacting the PLO. This ban remained one of the firm principles in American policy towards the Middle East for 13 years, and it was used in the worst way to damage the course of peace, and through it it was possible for Israel to manipulate American policy in the Middle East and to impose its control and oversight on the policy of a great power.

If this decision has presented an opportunity for opening the channels of direct, open and official communication between the United States and the PLO, then many of the occasions of misunderstanding, ill intent, former bias and mistaken rulings that have marked American policies towards the Palestinian question might be lifted. And that is just the beginning.

Open Letter to Envoy Protests U.S. Policies

PM0401143189 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic
27 Dec 88 p 10

[Open letter to U.S. ambassador in Cairo by Dr 'Awad al-Duhah]

[Excerpts] Mr Ambassador, they say that you read and speak Arabic. If this is true, I hope you will have the time to read this letter. I also hope that the letter will find its way to the people concerned in your country.

The U.S. State Department, as reported by news agencies recently, has emphasized that attacks against its citizens abroad have increased noticeably this year. And I do not think this is surprising, Mr Ambassador. What do you expect from the peoples other than hatred when the United States stands alone as the grim enemy of their aspirations? What do you expect other than the peoples' hatred for the United States, despite its huge wealth and despite whatever you provide in the way of wheat, arms, and apples?

The U.S. people as a whole wept and your President's eyes shed tears in tenderness and compassion for two small whales besieged by ice in Alaska. You did the impossible to rescue those two whales besieged by mountains of ice. As for the camps' children—whom Israel is besieging with fire, death, and destruction, using weapons made by the United States for a U.S. objective—they meet with no mercy or sympathy from you. In fact, you never tire of using your veto against them. Not only that, in fact you rush to supply Israel with cluster bombs as if you are not content with what these children are already suffering, namely gas bombs, bullets, and broken bones. [Passage omitted]

Mr Ambassador, your children are enjoying warmth, love, and security. But those children live in a hell: no warmth, no love, and no security.

Mr Ambassador, the attacks against your citizens throughout the world have nothing to do with others, but, rather, have to do with the United States itself, which prefers to play with fire. And anyone who plays with fire will get his fingers burned.

Mr Ambassador, let us recall together what your country has done to us. On one single day the United Nations adopted 10 resolutions condemning Israel. The resolutions were issued separately. They were overwhelmingly supported by the world's states, except the United States. The resolutions stipulated that Israel violates the rules of the Geneva Convention on the protection of territories under occupation—a war crime and outrage to humanity. The international community as a whole decided that this was so, but the United States was the only one to dissent. [Passage omitted]

We saw how the United States refused to condemn Israel after the Sabra and Shatila massacres. It also refused to condemn it after the Iraqi nuclear reactor was hit. And it refused to condemn it when it blew up a civilian airliner carrying children, women, and old people.

The United States has persisted in provoking the Arabs' feelings by both its declared and its undeclared stances. What, other than the fact that they have had enough of the United States and its severe oppression, prompts young boys and men who love and adore life to blow themselves up with dynamite? We have had enough and our patience has run out because of the U.S. Administration's intransigence and hostile feelings toward our causes. Things have come to a head, Mr Ambassador. [passage omitted]

Your Excellency, why do you talk only of "Israel's security?" Where is Arab security? Where is the security of the young children whom Israel frequently kills?

What do you want from us, Mr Ambassador? Do you want us to kneel before Israel's rabbis and raise our hands in submission to Shamir? You receive Shamir at the White House the way you receive leaders, but refuse to receive 'Arafat because he is an honorable nationalist leader.

I know that you are a superpower, but what benefit have we derived from your superiority other than the fact that you want to humiliate us for the sake of a small state performing nothing but injustices, oppression, and aggression?

But why am I addressing this letter to you, Mr Ambassador? Because I know that the task of any ambassador is to improve relations between his country and the country in which he resides and to strengthen the ties of amity and friendship between the two peoples. This is why I am addressing this letter to you, hoping that you will carry out this task as you see fit, otherwise what is the point of having an embassy and an ambassador?

Mr Ambassador, you are welcome in our country as a good guest of a generous people, but not welcome for the policies the United States is pursuing. And anyone who walks on fire will burn his feet.

Islamic Group Leaders See 'Repressive Campaign'
PM0401132589 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic
27 Dec 88 pp 1-4

[Salah Budaywi and Mahmud Ibrahim report: "Preparation for Fierce Campaign To Suppress Muslim Youths"]

[Excerpts] Islamic group leaders in 'Ayn Shams have denied the lies which some papers published recently to the effect that they flogged some citizens and stormed houses. They described the allegations as a prelude to a large-scale repressive campaign currently being prepared by the security organs to eliminate the Muslim youths throughout the republic.

The leaders emphasized that the relationship between them and citizens in 'Ayn Shams is one of cooperation and amity, and the majority of the people in 'Ayn Shams support the Islamic group's youths in their ideas advocating virtue, adherence to the Islamic teachings, and rejection of all forms of deviation, which contradict the rules of the true religion.

Over recent days, the security forces have continued their arrest campaigns against citizens, detaining about 750 people, 450 of whom are imprisoned in Turah Prison and about 350 in Abu-Za'bal Prison.

Among those arrested over the past few days are seven women and three infants. [Passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Asyut University in recent days has witnessed huge student demonstrations in protest of the killing of Sharif and his two colleagues and rejecting the method of physically eliminating the group's members. [passage omitted]

Al-Azhar Grand Mufti Talks About Regional Problems
45040078 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
28 Oct 88 pp 36-37

[Interview with Shaykh Jad al-Haq 'Ali Jad-al-Haqq by Sana' al-Sa'id; in Cairo, date not given]

[Text] His Eminence the Grand Mufti of al-Azhar talked to AL-MUSAWWAR about developments in the arena. There is the issue of the Islamic shari'ah and its application in Sudan. There are Israel's practices in the occupied territories that have created every reason for the absence of stability and security in the region. There is the issue of Lebanon and the huge political vacuum it is experiencing and the fears it envisions under abhorrent religious partition. There is also the issue of Taba and the haunting fears that Israel is procrastinating in

implementing the arbitration decision passed in Egypt's favor. These are the many issues dictated by events and following is the opinion of His Eminence the Grand Mufti of al-Azhar, Jad-al-Haqq 'Ali Jad-al-Haqq:

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Now that the ratification of the Islamic shari'ah laws, that were recently submitted to the Constituent Assembly has been postponed and these laws have been sent to a parliamentary committee for a decision, I wonder how such a difficult equation can be solved when the insurgents are demanding the repeal of the entire shari'ah as a precondition for ending their war against the Sudanese Government, notwithstanding government statements that the south will be exempt from such laws. What is the opinion of Islam on this issue?

[Jad-al-Haqq] It is universally acknowledged and accepted that the laws of any country usually include all subjects in the sense that one law applies to all, in civil and criminal cases alike. The Islamic shari'ah protects people's beliefs and all matters that fall under the personal statute code. Muslims follow a principle based on the provisions of the shari'ah in the Koran and the Sunna that, when different religions are involved, personal statute matters must be left to the religious judgment of every sect that follows a revealed religion, i.e., Islam, Judaism and Christianity. Accordingly, in cases where religions differ or where a sect does not follow one of these revealed religions, the Islamic shari'ah is the law, something that is accepted in countries where Muslims represent the majority. It is totally unacceptable to exempt a group of citizens from the application of Islamic law in other than personal statute cases. No one has the right of choice because the law is for everyone and not for a particular group or individual.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] But what about the insurgents' opposition to the Islamic shari'ah laws, portraying them as a stumbling block in the way of a peaceful settlement in the south?

[Jad-al-Haqq] As I have said, the law does not exempt anyone. This is the opinion of Islam. As for the opposition of the insurgents in southern Sudan, it is primarily based on political considerations.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Some years ago you said that the codification of the shari'ah was not an easy task and that it required a long time because provisions must be put in familiar legal forms recognized by all those working in the legal field. Therefore, does not the passage of the shari'ah laws call for a dialogue and debate between the parties and the jama'at?

[Jad-al-Haqq] Debate and dialogue mean that legal texts derived from the Islamic shari'ah must be reviewed to ensure that they conform to their legal sources and that their provisions are clear to both judges and litigants.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] The opposition in Sudan based its rejection of the shari'ah's laws on the notion that the shari'ah violates human rights and seizes people's liberties.

[Jad-al-Haqq] We cannot and ought not to accuse laws derived from the Islamic shari'ah of violating human rights. Islam established human rights 14 centuries ago, ahead of all world legislation and ancient laws, be they religious or positive. Islam appreciates and affirms human rights and liberties provided they are not detrimental to others.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Those who oppose the application of the shari'ah in Sudan say that this issue has raised sensitivities between the north and the south, causing uneasiness and hatred between the two kinds of people.

[Jad-al-Haqq] The Islamic shari'ah in all its provisions is a humanitarian system that protects human rights and upholds and strives for justice. Moreover, in terms of religious beliefs, Islam does not force anyone to embrace it or to follow its rules to the detriment of such beliefs. As for the general law, it must apply to everyone. Those who allege that it is the cause of uneasiness and division are fanatic and neurotic people who exude a spirit of divisiveness in society because of race, color, location, or homeland. This is unacceptable to the shari'ah that rules with justice and embraces all people with its mercy and fairness.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] As the Palestinian uprising approaches its first full year next December, Israel is escalating its repressive practices and its policy of killing, genocide, displacement, and blowing up homes. From your point of view, is this consistent with human rights which the western world continues to hold forth on for everyone except the Palestinians?

[Jad-al-Haqq] Israel has defied UN resolutions and has cast aside all international conventions. The international community must bear its responsibility and must impose on Israel the Palestinians' right to self-determination, hence their right to establish an independent state in implementation of the 1947 Partition Resolution 181, passed by the international community through the United Nations, and recognized by most of its members. The United Nations and the Security Council must assume a true and deterrent role against Israel to protect the Arabs of Palestine from the daily campaigns of genocide and put a stop to the massacres and travesties Israel is waging daily against the Arabs.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Is the United States, which has a great deal of influence on Israel's policy and practices, required in particular to adopt a specific stance toward Israel?

[Jad-al-Haqq] We blame the United States for its persistent support of Israel in all its actions and contentiousness in the region. Indeed, this policy of the United

States enticed Israel to go into Lebanon where religious sects are still foundering in conflicts and confrontations as a result. It encourage and drove Israel to intensify its settlements in the occupied territories and to follow an iron-fist policy against the Palestinians. All this because the United States adopted a negative attitude and did not try to persuade or force Israel to stop such barbaric practices and to observe a policy of peaceful coexistence.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] A report put out by an Israeli research and information center on the West Bank clamorously charges the Israeli authorities with human rights violations and with employing a double standard of justice for Arabs and Jewish settlers in the occupied territories. What is your view?

[Jad-al-Haqq] Israel is escalating its vicious campaigns against the Palestinians, campaigns that include killing, displacement, administrative detention, banishment and expulsion, as a means of pleasing its Jewish settlers. Accordingly, the Palestinians have to counter this with all available means to defend themselves. The uprising is merely a way of standing up to the Israeli madness and hateful racism which mercilessly rules over the Palestinian people. The UN is also required to step in to protect the Palestinian people.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] From your point of view, how can such protection be pragmatically accomplished?

[Jad-al-Haqq] The same way all other problems in the world are handled, by being decisive even if it meant sending international forces to separate the combatants. This raises the subject of possible UN supervision to protect the Palestinians in the occupied territories until a political settlement is reached, and until the Palestinians attain their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

I wonder how the UN can be satisfied with being a spectator vis-a-vis events in the occupied territories, giving Israel every chance to take advantage of fluid positions?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Shamir recently warned that if he won the elections he would wage a war of genocide against the Palestinians.

[Jad-al-Haqq] Shamir's statements can be construed as a clear and blatant threat against a people whose existence and right to statehood are recognized by the UN, under the 1947 partition resolution and other resolutions, and whose right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on their land has been recognized by many countries and peoples of the world. By this attitude, Shamir is defying this international legitimacy and is wrecking all peace efforts, thus keeping the area on the brink of war or eruption that could drag the whole world into a bottomless pit.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] In justifying its repressive practices against the Palestinians, Israel always claims that it is fending off terrorist operations which it wants to eradicate and, therefore, its strikes against such operations is a way of settling accounts.

[Jad-al-Haqq] Through its practices, Israel is leading terrorist plots that drip with blood, spit evil, spread terror and wreak havoc. It is throwing legitimacy to the wind, is directing indiscriminate blows against law and order and the innocent and is undermining the principles of democracy. Before talking about waves of terrorism and Intifadah activists, Israel ought to heed God within itself first. The abhorrent political reality it has imposed has generated violence and various reactions to its practices, given the fact that it is the one that has ravished the people and robbed them of their rights, a fact acknowledged by everyone and most recently by the British minister of state who a few days ago said that Israel is unconsciously headed for sure disaster as a result of its policy in the occupied territories. Moreover, Israel's violations have increased at an alarming rate, extending to children and blowing up houses, violations that the Israelis themselves have condemned. The best proof is a recent report put out by a research and information center on the West Bank on the West Bank acknowledging the dreadful increase in the number of human rights violations in the occupied territory, since the outbreak of the Intifadah in particular and since the government legitimized such violations and adopted a double standard of justice for Palestinians and Jewish settlers.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Given the developments in the Palestinian arena and the hoped-for announcement on 12 November when the PNC goes into session, concerning the establishment of a Palestinian state based on Resolution 181, do you support such a step?

[Jad-al-Haqq] Yes, we support and welcome an independent state. A political manifestation of the Palestinian people's being is in the interest of the cause and its international support. It affirms the restoration of right usurped in the wake of partition ordered and imposed by the UN. Hence, going back to Resolution 181, passed in 1947, it is a confirmation of the international legitimacy established by the countries of the world. Israel must hasten to accept the holding of an international conference for establishing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and settling an issue that has by long been under contention. Israel must not forget that it owes its legitimacy and existence to Resolution 181.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Do Israeli practices in the occupied territories and the region still bear witness to the fact that Israel has not given up its dream of greater Israel?

[Jad-al-Haqq] Israel's actions in the occupied territories are clear proof that Israel is seeking to threaten the region as part of its expansionist designs. The practices

that are occurring attest to the fact that Israel does not have peace and coexistence in mind and is aspiring to annihilate the Palestinians so that it may have the place all to itself.

Israel must, if its intentions are sincere, observe good neighborliness which is affirmed by international conventions and is a legal and legitimate right of the human race.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] What about the situation in Lebanon where two governments have been vying for legitimacy since last September 23rd and where fears prevail concerning actual sectarian partition?

[Jad-al-Haqq] I support the appeal of some Arab presidents that the Lebanese problem must be settled in an urgent Arab summit meeting to deal with the political vacuum that is subjecting Lebanon to division and the outbreak of a civil war between the sects that comprise this people, and I say: Foreign hands must cease their meddling in Lebanon's affairs. The course of events in Lebanon show that this painful reality is manipulated by foreign hands, something that ought to be taken up by an Arab summit sincerely intent on correcting this situation which is unbefitting an Arab country with membership in the Arab League and the UN and its own political entity and history of struggle and independence. Let us not forget that the UN and its concerned agencies in the meantime must look after Lebanon to prevent it from falling into the abyss of another war in this blazing area. It is simply and solely a humanitarian matter and prompt efforts must be made to remedy these unstable conditions in Lebanon.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] To go back to Israel, in the wake of the International Board of Arbitration's decision on the 29th of last month that Taba be returned to Egypt, some circles are still skeptical and are talking about possible Israeli procrastination in implementing this decision and in getting actual practical measures under way to achieve that.

[Jad-al-Haqq] I take this opportunity to congratulate President Husni Mubarak and the Arab and Islamic worlds on the arbitration decision concerning Taba and its demonstrated proof that issues can be settled peacefully and in a civilized manner. We hope that Israel will hasten to implement the binding decision in accordance with the terms of arbitration. Israel must not forget that the United States is a guarantor, a partner, and a mediator and as such is required to see to it that Israel comply with said decisions without delay.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Last month, Algiers witnessed acts of violence and disorder which observers labelled as angry reactions to economic problems and straits while others called them an angry outburst searching for political reform. The question is: Is violence, disorder, destruction and the burning of installations the ideal means for effecting the desired change, notwithstanding that such acts erase the gains and legitimacy at the same time?

[Jad-al-Haqq] God said in His book: "Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious." [Surah 16:125] This Koranic verse decrees that all dialogues between the people or any individual and Muslim rulers be conducted in this manner and in accordance with the way prescribed by God Almighty. If there are complaints about the course of events in people's lives, be they economic, political, or social, Islam decrees that dialogue be conducted according to the way prescribed by the Koran for spreading the Islamic Call among Muslims. Presenting demands through destruction, vandalism and breaking into installations, be they government or private, is harmful to the country's economy and to the economic well-being of those whose property was destroyed. Islam does not stand for damage and harm. It does not sanction disorder, destruction, vandalism, the wiping out of gains and accomplishments, and the spreading of anarchy. Therefore, the kind of dialogue urged and called for by Islam must be followed.

Muslim Brotherhood's Supreme Guide Calls for Jihad

45040084A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Nov 88 p 1

[Article: "Jihad The Only Way to Liberate Palestine Completely"]

[Text] Mr Hamid Abu-al-Nasr, Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, sent an open letter to the PNC in Algeria affirming that "We all regard Palestine as our land and feel a responsibility to liberate it in full, including Jerusalem, from the Zionist enemy."

He said: "The Muslim Brotherhood, as they laud the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and are proud of their blessed Intifadah and lofty stance, ask the members of the PNC to adopt an honorable stance and to be an extension of this long line of struggle, underscoring the eternal Islamic right to the occupied Palestinian land."

He added: "Jewish presence on any part of Palestinian land is a false colonialist presence which we do not acknowledge and must be opposed and resisted."

CMA Chairman Updates Status of Investment Companies' Case

45040122a Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 28 Nov 88 p 8

[Article by Najwa 'Uways]

[Text] Dr Muhammad Hasan Fajj-al-Nur, chairman of the Central Markets Authority [CMA] spoke to AL-AKHBAR about the situation of investment firms after

the recent decrees. The chairman of the authority talked about measures that will be taken with firms which have declared their willingness to adjust their positions and with firms that did not make such an announcement. The chairman of the authority announced for the first time that preliminary indications show that the volume of deposits in al-Rayyan's firms could amount to 2.2 billion pounds. Regarding the status of a depositor who lost his receipt, the chairman of the authority said there would be no problem if the deposits are recorded in the firm's books. But if the deposits were not recorded, a depositor would have to prove the deposit he made, and he would have to do so in accordance with legal rules for establishing proof.

200,000 Letters

Dr Fajj-al-Nur said that meetings are being held around the clock at the CMA to help find out the volume of total deposits held by al-Rayyan's firms in the country and abroad. Attempts are being made to appraise these assets. Dr Fajj-al-Nur said that the authority was receiving large numbers of letters every day from depositors in the country and abroad explaining how large their deposits were. So far, the authority has received over 200,000 letters.

Dr Fajj-al-Nur affirmed that because of increased attention to the interests of depositors in al-Rayyan's firms, the office of the district attorney had formed another committee to conduct a complete listing of everything owned by al-Rayyan.

The Depositor's Relationship With the Firm

The chairman of the authority indicated that a depositor's relationship with the firm will be determined after the district attorney's office completes its investigation and has a real count on the volume of deposits. He said that conflicting opinions about some of the assets were prolonging the process of scrutiny and inquiry. "With regard to gold, for example, some people said there were large amounts of gold, and that may not be true. The Hallmarks and Weights Office denies that al-Rayyan's firms have any large amounts of gold. If that is the case, then the volume of impounded assets as well as the volume of the firm's assets have been exaggerated."

2.2 Million Pounds

The chairman of the authority indicated that preliminary indicators showed that the volume of deposits held by the firms amounted to 2.2 billion pounds. This is at variance with the announcement made by the president of the firm in which he stated that he had received only 1.7 billion pounds in deposits.

Dr Fajj-al-Nur spoke about the fact that a few major depositors think the authority is fighting them and he said, "That is not true, and it is not relevant at all. And yet, newspapers started using a method in publishing

information which created some confusion among depositors. According to the law and its executive decree, the authority did not obtain a list of depositors' names. The authority cannot request such information from the firm because doing so would be against the law. The authority's role is limited to that of receiving general data about the number of depositors and the total value of deposits in the various currencies. The authority also receives data on how these deposits are used."

When Will the Funds Be Returned?

The chairman of the authority spoke about the time when funds will be returned to depositors, and he said, "The process of counting the money will take some time, particularly since the firm has sold some assets to some other companies. Al-Sa'd Companies, for example, purchased assets from al-Rayyan, and the value of these assets is estimated at approximately 35 million pounds. Al-Sa'd Companies notified the authority of these purchases, and these transactions are now being looked into to determine ownership. In this case, documents and the date of the transaction can be conclusive evidence in establishing the legality of a transaction in accordance with military decrees.

"There are major settlements to be made between the firm and a few other companies which did business with the firm. Some of these companies are debtors, and some are creditors. But the manner in which funds will be returned to depositors will be determined after all the property is counted, after the property which the firm owned is identified and appraised, and after the volume of total deposits is known also."

'Take Them to Court'

Dr Fajj-al-Nur said that companies whose financial position will not allow them to stay in business will be taken to court where liquidating them will be considered and the volume of losses, if any, will be determined. A pro rata division of the firm's assets will be conducted by a court-appointed liquidation agent so that there will be a balance between net assets and the volume of deposits. Each depositor would receive an amount that has been set aside for him without infringing upon the sanctions mentioned in the laws regarding company officials.

The chairman of the authority said that if some people did withdraw a percentage of their deposits, that fact would be taken into account when the assets are divided because the books will show how much money was deposited and how much money was withdrawn by each depositor. That is the role of the court-appointed liquidation agent. It is not the function of the authority.

Mission To End in 2 Months

Regarding the status of al-Rayyan Firm and whether or not its financial position will allow it to stay in business, the chairman of the authority indicated that competent

agencies in this case will determine what will be done in that regard. A new board of directors could be elected or a new controller appointed by the company's general assembly. An authorized agent may also be appointed to management.

Dr Fajj-al-Nur said that controllers are expected to complete their mission in 2 months. After that the company's financial statement will be published in two daily newspapers, and the general assembly could be convened to decide what can be done about the firm.

About the reasons why any company subject to Law No 146 of 1988 might be liquidated, Dr Fajj-al-Nur said, "Just because a company did not realize a profit does not mean that it has to be liquidated. A company may have engaged in actions that violate general laws or actions that are incompatible with security, and in spite of that, it could have realized a profit. In that case a decree to liquidate the company could be issued, and in that case the liquidation would be advantageous and would not diminish a depositor's rights."

The chairman of the authority spoke about companies that do not wish to reconcile their statements. He said, "These companies have to come forward with their financial statements which have been approved by controllers appointed by the Central Accounting Office. These companies' financial statements will also be published in daily newspapers which have a large circulation so that depositors would know all the facts about the firm where they deposited their funds." The chairman of the authority said that all penalties mentioned in Law No 146, in addition to criminal penalties imposed on those who are under obligation to return funds, stipulate that the funds be returned to depositors. Dr Fajj-al-Nur affirmed that one firm had received funds after the law was issued, thereby violating Law No 146 of 1988. The office of the district attorney is now investigating that firm.

When a Receipt Is Lost

The chairman of the authority explained that when a depositor loses the receipt that proves how much money he deposited, "There is no problem if there is a record in the firm's books of how much money he deposited. But if there are no records of those deposits in the firm's books, then he has to use every legal instrument to prove that he made those deposits. He may use the agreement that was drawn between him and the firm, he may produce the checks he had cashed, or he may use any other means."

Dr Fajj-al-Nur spoke about the authority's consent to the continuation in business of firms that expressed a willingness to reconcile their statements, and he said, "If a firm completed all the paper work regarding charter and registration as required by the law and its executive decree, the authority's board of directors will examine these documents along with the report prepared by the authority about the firm's financial statements. The law

gave the authority's board of directors the right to make decisions about these applications in 2 months. The board can either accept or reject an application. If it rejects it, the board must give reasons why the application was turned down. The firm has the right to appeal the board's decision to the minister of the economy. However, the first and last word on the matter is up to the office of the district attorney in accordance with its jurisdiction."

Dr Fajj-al-Nur made it clear that applying the criminal portion of the law to firms which filed their financial statements after the deadline but were still willing to reconcile their statements will not interfere with the authority's operations. The authority will continue looking into these firms' charter applications, registration applications, and applications for completing the reconciliation of statements as long as all that is done during the period which has been set by law. That period is 1 year from the date the law went into effect.

30 Companies Are Being Investigated

Dr Fajj-al-Nur talked about the position of the companies which were being investigated by the Socialist Public Prosecutor. The Ethics Court had issued judgments against these companies' owners and had sequestered their property. He said that approximately 30 companies were being investigated and that deliberations with the socialist public prosecutor were underway to determine who will take over the affairs of these companies under the auspices of the Socialist Public Prosecutor Act and Law No 146 for 1988. An announcement will be made after results are achieved in that regard.

Mere Notice to the District Attorney's Office

Dr Fajj-al-Nur spoke about the position of companies which presented approved financial statements after 8 November, and he said reports about these companies had been forwarded to the district attorney's office. Dr Fajj-al-Nur said, "The authority's role in that regard is merely to notify the district attorney's office and to inform it that these companies did not file notice of their status on time and did not attach a financial statement to it. The financial statement is considered the main foundation and the essential indication of a company's position. It is required to study a company's position. But the office of the district attorney has the first and last word in that regard in accordance with its jurisdiction. The authority assumes no special position regarding these companies. The authority also notified the office of the district attorney of the date when these companies filed their financial statements after 8 November, and it also notified the office of the district attorney about the letters it received from certified accountants indicating that these companies had offered them every assistance to help them perform their duties."

"But invoking the criminal part of the law and applying it to companies which filed their financial statements after 8 November and are willing to reconcile their statements will have no effect on the authority's work when it looks into their charter applications, registration applications, and applications for completing the reconciliation of their statements, as long as all this is done during the period which has been set by the law. That period is 1 year from the date the law went into effect."

Approval for Some Companies

Dr Fajj-al-Nur spoke about what the authority was doing at the present time, and he affirmed that the authority's next board of directors will wait for charter and registration applications filed by these companies to be completed and will decide whether to accept or reject them. According to a preliminary study of the financial statements of some of these companies, it is expected that the board of directors will approve the establishment and registration of a large number of them.

Shipping Companies Review 1987-88 Fiscal Year

45000082 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
21 Dec 88 p 6

[Text] The public sector maritime transport companies have held general meetings in Alexandria to look at the results of fiscal year 1987-88. The minister of transport, communications and maritime transport chaired the meetings. The following results were disclosed:

First, the volume of business was 1.157 billion pounds, an increase of 34 percent over last year.

Second, the profits coming from distribution were 224 million pounds, an increase of 35.3 percent over last year.

Third, the taxes paid to the state totaled 66 million pounds.

Fourth, the value of additional state income was 307.5 million pounds.

Fifth, the effect of the companies' activities on the balance of payments was 646 million pounds, compared to 355 million pounds last year.

Sixth, the national merchant shipping companies participated in transporting 41 percent of all public goods. This is equal to the percentage of shipped goods agreed upon at international maritime conferences.

Seventh, national companies participated in transporting 79 percent of all strategic goods, e.g., wheat, sorghum, and flour.

Eighth, the Egyptian Navigation Company [ENC] transported 1.186 million tons, compared to 850,000 tons last year, a 39.2 percent increase.

The ENC transported 378 tons between foreign ports, a freightage worth \$7 million.

Ninth, all of the companies made profits and exceeded what they had made last year.

Lawyers Threaten To Escalate Sit-In to General Strike

45000077 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] The lawyers holding a sit-in at the General Federation of Lawyers' building affirmed that their sit-in is openended and is the beginning of a series of measures that will end in calling and establishing a general strike.

In a statement from the public prosecutor's office, a number of Islamic lawyers had decided on the sit-in following the arrest of lawyer Ashraf Fahmi during his visit to one of the detainees in the 'Ayn Shams incidents and the arrest of several other lawyers.

Researcher Examines Weaknesses of Joint Companies

45040122b Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 1 Dec 88 p 8

[Article by Mahmud 'Arif]

[Excerpts] This important study, which was prepared by Cairo University, answers this question: Why is it that over a 12-year period, joint companies, whose capital includes contributions made by the public sector and foreign companies, have not achieved any success to speak of?

The public sector contributed approximately 2 billion pounds to the establishment of these companies. It borrowed this money from the banks at a rate of interest that exceeds the return realized by these companies.

The study revealed that joint companies did not bring into the country the advanced technology which had been hoped for. Nor did they strive to open new markets to export their products and obtain hard currency. Instead, they caused the prices of many local goods to rise.

Mr Muhammad Ayman 'Abd-al-Latif 'Ashush, a researcher and associate professor at the business management department in the College of Commerce, Cairo University, prepared the study and was awarded a doctorate for it by the university. The study was discussed by Dr 'Ali al-Salmi, professor of business management and vice president of Cairo University for education and students' affairs; by Dr Muhammad 'Ali Shuhayb, professor of business management at the College of Commerce; and by Dr Muhyi-al-Din al-Gharib, vice president of the General Investment Authority and Free Zones.

The researcher said in his study that although the public sector's involvement in joint investments in Egypt had started a long time ago, the spread of this phenomenon, starting in 1973, had acquired special importance. Joint investments with the public sector started when the Eastern Petroleum Company was founded. There were two Egyptian partners in that company—the Cooperative Petroleum Society and the General Petroleum Authority—and one foreign company which was founded by the Italian company ENI with shareholders from Belgium. [Passage omitted]

Profits and Losses

The study said that joint companies had not succeeded in achieving the objectives that were set in the Investment Law. It said that in 1984 the public sector realized 7.4 million pounds in profits from its investments in industry with Egyptians and foreigners, but that its losses in the remaining companies were about 14.4 million pounds. This means that the public sector's industrial activities lost up to 7 million pounds.

Furthermore, most of the new employment opportunities which were provided by joint companies were filled at the expense of the public sector by large numbers of competent workers who left their jobs in public sector companies. These people represent a national investment because the state did bear major costs for their education and training. These companies also contributed to the cancellation of some of the gains which public sector workers had achieved in the socialist laws of 1961. These laws have to do with representation on boards of directors and with profits. Joint banks also attracted highly competent people away from the national banks by paying them high salaries. That led the government and the public sector to increase salaries in a manner that was not consistent with increased productivity. That helped create an imbalance between total demand and the real supply of goods and services. That means the domestic economy was faulty, and prices tended to rise.

Also, some of the activities of joint companies to which the public sector had contributed started competing in an unequal manner with the principal activities of some public sector companies. That made conducting business for these companies difficult.

'No' to Storage Projects

The study revealed that the emphasis placed on storage projects in making investments in the free zones has become harmful to the national economy. Storage projects have turned into storage facilities for consumer goods which are ultimately destined for the local market. Investments in storage facilities are not geared toward exporting, which is the principal goal of establishing storage projects in free zones. The goal of such projects is to provide storage space for goods in transit or for locally produced goods that are to be modified for export. Storage projects in free zones are not intended for goods

that will be sold in the local market. This faulty situation increased the tendency to consume at the expense of the national economy, whose development can be realized by tapping new sources of hard currency for the country.

No more than 20 percent of the industrial companies were engaged in exporting goods. The goods they exported did not exceed 8 percent of the export target. These companies' production was limited to fabrics and textiles and to the metal, chemical and food industries.

How Do We Get Out of the Crisis?

The study offered a remedy to correct conditions for joint companies which are losing money. The remedy would also set these companies on the proper economic course. The study suggested that all of the public sector's shares in joint companies be collected in one place and a new national holding company for investments formed. This new company, which would be formed by special statute, would hold all the public sector's shares in joint companies. The public sector would be considered a shareholder in the new company's capital, and its holdings in the new company would be proportionate to its holdings in the joint companies after these holdings are re-evaluated.

The study called for following the lead of countries, like South Korea and India, which succeeded in attracting foreign capital. These countries, which managed to acquire advanced systems for acquiring technology, also managed to internationalize a number of the joint companies and force them to do business in developing countries, especially in the field of contracting. These companies were able to compete in that business with multinational companies which were established by industrial European and American countries.

If the economic open-door policy is properly planned and directed, it can achieve splendid results for the state's economic and social development.

Also, this policy has a greater chance to succeed if it is applied as part of the state's general plan. This is because this policy does not conflict with the private sector or with the government sector.

Muslim Students Barred From Elections

45040084B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] The university guard administration at the University of Cairo objected to the candidacy of many Islamic candidates running for student union elections, striking their names off the lists.

The deletion process included many student leaders with previous union affiliation, including the president of the School of Medicine union at the University of Cairo,

Mahmud al-Jazzar, and four others. Thirteen other candidates from the School of Communications and 81 candidates from the School of Liberal Arts, the School of Business, and the School of Engineering were also deleted.

At the al-Matariyah School of Engineering, 98 students belonging to the Islamic tendency were deleted under the pretext of not having previous student activities!

AL-NUR has learned that National Party families at the university played a major role in the deletion process.

In related developments, the Islamic Jama'ah at the University of Cairo organized a student conference last week in the wake of the university guard assault on union members and the tearing down of art posters displayed at the "Our Economy: Predicament and Solution" exhibit.

The conference formed a student delegation under the chairmanship of Wa'il Talab, president of the union, to meet with the university president who complied with the conference's demands and ordered the restoration of the exhibit. He also promised to study the union's demands to lower university city expenses.

IRAQ

Permanent Closure of Kirkuk-Tripoli Pipeline Announced

44040193 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
30 Dec 88 p 49

[Text] The Iraqi minister of petroleum, 'Isam al-Jalabi, announced the government's permanent halt of oil exports via the Kirkuk-Banyas-Tripoli pipeline, which passes through Syrian territory, closing the curtain on one of the Middle East's oldest pipelines for transporting crude oil.

The pumping of Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean ports of Tripoli in Lebanon and Banyas in Syria began in 1948. With a length of 970 kilometers, the pipeline used to pump approximately one-third of Iraqi oil exports from Kirkuk's oil wells in the north to the western shores of the Mediterranean. After Syria's closure of the pipeline in April 1982, Iraq began to export its oil via a pipeline which extends across Turkish territory and then via another pipeline which extends across Saudi territory, as well as via tankers which transport the oil to the Jordanian port of al-'Aqabah.

In his announcement, 'Isam al-Jalabi affirmed that his government's decision is final and will not be reviewed.

It is worthy to note that at a forum on petroleum held recently in London 'Isam al-Jalabi affirmed that his government will hold to its production quota of 2.64 million barrels per day, set by OPEC in the last Vienna conference, even though Iraqi production capacity approaches 4 million barrels per day.

ISRAEL

Movement To Declare New 'State of Judea' Profiled

44000218 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
in English 27 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Tel Aviv—A group calling itself the "Founding Council of the State of Judea" said yesterday it will declare an independent state and establish an army, police force and other institutions that will take over "every metre" of land the State of Israel "abandons" in the administered territories.

The group is headed by Rabbi Michael Ben-Horin of Moshav Nov in the Golan, and includes several Kakh members. It claims that hundreds of people have registered as prospective citizens and that their state will declare its independence on 18 January at Qiryat Arba'. The councillors will be asked to approve a flag, anthem and coat of arms. Stamps will be sold as well.

Ben-Horin told THE JERUSALEM POST last night that his supporters will send armed patrols into the territories. "Such patrols already exist," he said in an apparent allusion to settler patrols. However the patrols "will be expanded considerably," he said. Asked whether his group will initiate reprisal raids on Arabs, he said, "That is called for."

Ben-Horin said he did not fear arrest, saying it would be "an honour" to be jailed. And he denied the move was a publicity stunt. "I would not lend my name to public relations [gimmicks]," he said.

Nevertheless, government and settler sources did not take him seriously. One government official said he has been forced to deal with enough "crazies" and doesn't want to waste time on another one. Uri Ari'el, who heads the Council of Settlers in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, said the whole matter was "nonsense."

Kollek, Sanyurah Square Off Over Split Local Rule

44000232 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
(Weekend Section) in English 30 Dec 88 p 14

[Article by Ben Lynfield]

[Text] To ease Arab-Jewish tensions in the city, a subsidiary municipal council should be created for East Jerusalem, with an Arab mayor presiding, AL-FAJR's Hanna Sanyurah suggested during a panel discussion on the future of Jerusalem at the Van Leer Institute Tuesday night.

But Mayor Teddy Kollek dismissed the idea of two city councils and two mayors, saying it would soon lead to a renewed split. "A divided city can't work," he said. "It hasn't worked anywhere in the world."

According to Sanyurah, editor of the East Jerusalem Arabic daily, the tension in the city stems from the fact that Jerusalem's governmental system does not allow for the expression of Palestinian national aspirations. In pursuing a vision of Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel, Koolek and his administration have effectively "turned the Palestinians into a "second-rate minority," Sanyurah charged.

This has affected the schools, which do not allow for teaching Palestinian history and geography, he said; the Arab health facilities, which have been closed down with the East Jerusalemites being encouraged to join the Israeli health system; and Palestinian neighbourhoods, which have been prevented from expanding even as new Jewish neighbourhoods have been built around them.

The best way to redress the imbalance and allow the Palestinians to express their nationalist aspirations, Sanyurah suggested, would be to set up a separate municipal council. But to keep Jerusalem undivided, the Arab council would be linked with the West Jerusalem city council in an overall body comprising an equal number of members from both parts of the city.

Kollek acknowledged that the city had not done enough for the Arab population, but attributed this largely to the failure of the Arab residents themselves to participate in municipal politics. Despite repeated efforts to interest Arabs in joining the city council, Arab candidates invariably withdrew out of fear of terrorism, he said.

Nevertheless, he pointed out, conditions in East Jerusalem have improved since the city was reunited. Under Jordanian rule, water was available only once a week, walls were crumbling and the construction of churches was forbidden, he recalled.

Moreover, Kollek continued, out of deference to the Arab population, the municipality had abdicated its sovereignty in certain key areas. Thus, it allowed the Jordanian curriculum to be taught in the school system, permitted East Jerusalem residents to retain their Jordanian passports and left the Temple Mount under the control of the Waqf (the Muslim Religious Trust).

In health matters, the municipality had built better facilities in East Jerusalem than had existed before Israeli rule, Kollek said. And he added, on a note of sarcasm, under "tyrannical Zionist rule" the city's Arab population had doubled whereas under Jordanian control it had remained constant.

He called on Arab residents to help the city "do more than it has done until now to equalize conditions" between Arabs and Jews. Such a process, he said, could lead to the establishment of Arab "districts and sublayers," but these would be under one municipality, Kollek emphasized.

"Jerusalem will always remain one city, the capital of Israel," the mayor told Sanyurah. "Maybe you can find a proper capital somewhere else, perhaps in Ramallah, if Mr [Yitzhaq] Shamir will give it to you."

The discussion, sponsored by the Israel Oriental Society and the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, also included Likud MK Re'uven (Ruby) Rivlin and Dr. Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem and currently head of the West Bank Data Base Project.

Degel Hatora Leader Discusses Secularism, Orthodoxy

44230028 Tel Aviv HADASHOT (Sabbath Supplement)
in Hebrew 11 Nov 88 pp 1-3

[Interview with Rabbi Ravitz by Sarit Yishay-Levi; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Rabbi Avraham Ravitz, leader of Degel Hatora, one of the 18 agents of the revolution, those orthodox who were elected and will determine the makeup of the next government. He is the man who caused Pupiq Arnon, Alona Einstein, Iqa Yisra'eli and many others to repent. He is good at talking with secularists. Born in Tel Aviv, he joined LEHI and served in the IDF. He has been married for 29 years to Avigayil, who was born in America. They have 12 children and 8 grandchildren. "Not all of Israel," says the Rabbi, "and not at any price, especially not at the cost of lives."

"Have I convinced you to repent?" he asks on the phone. I do not laugh because he has succeeded in causing some of my best friends to repent: Iqa Yisra'eli, Pupiq Arnon, Arye Yitshaq, Yig'al Oren, Amnon Ari'eli, Yoram Luqov, Tal and Gdi Do'ar, Orna Ban'ay, as well as others whom I do not know, such as Nira 'Adi and Alona Einstein. And this is only a very abbreviated list. Rabbi Avraham Ravitz refuses to give me an exact list of penitents whom he and his wife, the Rebbitsen Avigayil, have hosted in their home on Shabbat.

It is Sunday morning this week in their home in Bayit Vegan in Jerusalem. Yitshaq and Golda, two of their 12 children, answer their two phones that never stop ringing, while their father meets with several young men in his study. The Rebbitsen prepared coffee and more coffee and more coffee. The telephones never stop ringing and Yitshaq and Golda sound like two Sabras, perhaps a bit more polite.

Those calling include: Peres', Levy's, and Sharon's secretaries, a bank director to whom Rav Ravitz raises his voice. "Listen, I grew up on the beaches of Tel Aviv, I am a Sabra and the son of a Sabra. I will tell it to you straight!" They are calling him from IDF radio and from "Erev Hadash" (New Evening) and from Canadian television, and it seems that the rabbi enjoys all the noise and tumult which surrounds him. He says to Peres' secretary: "From the newspapers, I hear that I have a meeting with Shim'on at the same time as my meeting

with your good friends from Likud. Does this mean there is going to be a Unity Government?" He reminds Sharon's secretary that he grew up in a place where "only death would liberate Jewish tradition." And in order to tease Peres further about his rebirth, when his secretary calls back, he greets her with "Tel Hay!" When she does not understand, he says: "Ask Shim'on. He will explain it to you."

Rabbi Ravitz has a highly developed sense of humor, "our" kind of humor. He speaks our language, brings examples from our lives. If not for the beard and sidelocks, you would think you were talking to a secularist. And after 3 hours in his presence, it is understandable why he has been more successful than anyone in causing the greatest secularists to repent. [passage omitted]

[HADASHOT] Why do the rules of the movement not apply to SHAS?

[Ravitz] There is a difference in the relationship between the orthodox Sephardi community and the secular public and the relationship between the orthodox Ashkenazi community and the secular public. The Sephardi community in this era has not gone through the kinds of ideological crises that the Ashkenazi community has experienced beginning over 250 years ago with the Enlightenment, which ripped out sections of the orthodox Ashkenazi community and changed them to secularists and assimilationists. The Sephardi Jews were not engaged in such struggles. The Ashkenazis have had a long and bitter history which has caused them to defend themselves, and there have been many consequences concerning what is and is not allowed and how one should live. These are struggles which Sephardi Jewry has never had to deal with. Thus, if we do not turn to television, it is because SHAS does not have the same problem in relation to its community. Besides, how much time would they actually give me? Ten minutes?

[HADASHOT] Why didn't you join SHAS? Why did you go separately?

[Ravitz] I suggested that we join them, but they felt that if there were Ashkenazis, they would not be able to present themselves as a Sephardi party. They were afraid that people would say: Once again the Ashkenazis are taking control of the poor Separdis.

[HADASHOT] Can you explain to me, as a secularist, what is the source of the deep enmity which exists between you and the Lubavitchers?

[Ravitz] I would not say enmity. I do not know how to hate. I never learned to. By the way, I know the Lubavitcher Rebbe very well. I visited with him several times and we exchanged views. We did not always agree, but we remained on good terms.

[HADASHOT] When was this?

[Ravitz] Twenty years ago. Since then, something happened to them. I don't know exactly how it started. Several things happened: sectarianism, arrogance, and the prideful view that our way is the only way, the proselytizing among orthodox Jews because the truth, the only truth, belongs to them. If they try, for example, to get you to repent and you come over to my group instead of theirs, they would feel that all the work was in vain because if you are not a Lubavitcher, you don't matter. They are sectarian and controlling. They are messianic. I, for example, believe in "live and let live." I don't care if someone is a Lubavitcher as long as he worships God. I am not interested in making him like me. But to them, only a Lubavitcher counts. But their most serious problem is their messianism. They want to force the Jewish people to believe that their master, the Hassidic Rebbe, is the messiah, and we do not speak that language at all. Imagine. They truly believe that he is the messiah and they truly believe that I am delaying the coming of the messiah, and so they hate me and pursue me, and their hatred is as hard as the grave because I am responsible for delaying the coming of the messiah and the redemption.

[HADASHOT] And Rabbi Parush believes all of this?

[Ravitz] No. He hitched a ride. Agudat Yisra'el would not have gotten the blocking percentage without Habad. The Lubavitchers brought them all their blessings and their curses, and that's the story.

Rabbi Ravitz speaks in a logical manner. His images are secular ones. He has answers for almost all the questions, and when he does not, he argues that this is because a secular person would not understand.

He was born in Israel. His mother's family are eighth generation Jerusalemites. His father, Arye Lev, came from Poland to Hebron in the 1920's. Arye Lev Ravitz established the Hebron Yeshiva and stayed there until the pogrom of 1929. Then he moved to Jerusalem and later to Tel Aviv where he served as rabbi of the Montefiore district. In 1934 Avraham was born. "I am a native of Tel Aviv. I grew up on the beaches of Tel Aviv." This was a fact which came up again several times in the course of the conversation.

"We lived in Montefiore, a Tel Aviv neighborhood, religious and secular people together. I studied in a religious public school and later at the Hebron Yeshiva." As a youth, he joined the underground, LEHI. "I wanted to throw the British out. I disagreed with their policy of not allowing Jews to emigrate to Palestine. It went against my sense of justice. I couldn't stand foreign rule."

[HADASHOT] Why LEHI?

[Ravitz] Because LEHI spelled things out in the simplest and clearest way. At that time, I had only heard about Yazranitsky, as they then called Shamir. He was at the

top, one of the three biggest. I did meet Scheib-Eldad. I was in contact with Natan Yellin-Mor, and I believe I also met 'Amos Qinan at that time.

Rabbi Ravitz fought in Jerusalem during the War of Independence. After the war, he was involved in defending the city, and, when things quieted down, he returned to the yeshiva to complete his studies. During that period, he was involved in work which countered the anti-religious pressure, as he calls it. "I worked to bring down the first government against that background. I fought, for example, against their practice of cutting the sidelocks of the Jews coming from Yemen. You have to remember that most of the immigration from the Oriental countries was orthodox. They were simply pressured into becoming secular. Historic MAPAI did all kinds of terrible things out of simple electoral calculations. We complained loudly, and an investigative committee was established, headed by Yitshaq Ben-Tzvi, who later became president. And I established "Helping Hands to Brothers" at that time. We fought to protect the rights of the new immigrants who wanted to provide a religious education for their children and were prevented from doing so. We fought against the youth movements which pulled children away from their mothers and did things which should not have been done."

Thirty years ago, Rabbi Ravitz went to the United States on a mission for "Helping Hands to Brothers" in order to organize new branches there. During that mission, "I received my reward with lots of interest. I met my wife."

[HADASHOT] Was it through a matchmaker?

[Ravitz] What is a match? Someone gave me her phone number. Is that called a match? Do you know anyone who marries without a match? I don't. With you it is the singles bar. What is the difference? In the end, the loss is yours. We don't waste time on explanations. Someone else does that work.

[HADASHOT] And what if two people don't like each other?

[Ravitz] They would not be allowed to marry. I would not permit them to marry.

[HADASHOT] But how can a young girl of 16 and a lad of 17 who meet just once...?

[Ravitz] Once is really an exaggeration, but it is also an exaggeration to go around for months. In my opinion, the orthodox way is much more successful.

In his case, the match worked out very well. They returned to Israel because the rabbi had to enlist again. Because of his age, he went through training in GADNA (the youth cadet corps) in Camp 80. He served for a year in the army, was then discharged and went to study at No'am Academy.

[HADASHOT] You returned to Israel in order to serve in the army. Did you ever consider not serving?

[Ravitz] I do not agree with the idea of a religious man not serving in the IDF, but I completely support the idea that, as long as someone is studying in a yeshiva, he receive a deferral. Every man must serve, but if he dedicates himself completely to the study of the Tora, then, during the period of his studies, the Jewish people ought to give him a deferral from serving. It is true that there are cases where the deferral lasts a long time, but I am speaking about the principle of the thing. There are many orthodox who are not learning. They should serve in the army.

[HADASHOT] Why shouldn't a man who is studying in a yeshiva take a break for 3 years, serve in the army, and then return to the yeshiva?

[Ravitz] This is very difficult to explain to a secular person. It involves the essential part of the basic orthodox world view. When we became a nation, one tribe dedicated itself completely to spiritual work—the tribe of Levi. Across the generations, the job of this tribe passed to that group of people who dedicated themselves to study. There were periods when all Jews studied Tora, but there was always a group which took on this responsibility, and it was always supported by the nation and was always freed from serving in the army. I spent a long time as a yeshiva student, but I served in the army and took part in the Six Day War and in the Yom Kippur War, and I was grateful to fight for the existence of the Jewish nation in whose spiritual existence I believe.

[HADASHOT] Do your sons serve in the army?

[Ravitz] My five sons are currently studying in yeshivas. As soon as they complete their studies, they will serve in the IDF. People have done us an injustice. They have said that an orthodox man does not serve in the army. This is not true. They have said that we are opposed to serving in the army. This is really irritating. Not only are we not opposed to it, but we appreciate every single soldier, the army in general, and the secular state which acknowledges us and allows us to study. And when Peres defended this position in the Labor Party, I wanted to phone and thank him. We are a part of this country. We love this country.

[HADASHOT] Are you Zionists?

[Ravitz] Define for me what a Zionist is and I will answer you. Several years ago, my friends and I sent 100 letters to secular thinkers and we asked them what a Zionist is. We did not receive a single answer that was exactly like another.

[HADASHOT] What does a Zionist mean to you?

[Ravitz] I will tell you how I am a Zionist and how I am not. I am a Zionist in that I love Israel and the State of Israel, and I see no solution for the Jewish people apart from the State of Israel.

I am not a Zionist when Zionism argues that the justification for our existence as a nation is the fact that we share a common past. I believe that what unites us is the acceptance of the Tora. I see myself as an integral part of the Jewish people as a whole, in Israel and in the Diaspora.

[HADASHOT] What is your position concerning greater Israel?

[Ravitz] I have a religious feeling about Israel. I feel a connection with every clod of earth, every tree, every mountain, every piece of land in all of Israel. So much for the world of feelings.

[HADASHOT] And...

[Ravitz] For me the land of Israel is a value, but there are many things in the realm of my values which exist on the level of hopes and aspirations. I know that these aspirations are not likely to be realized today, here, now. The land of Israel, is, therefore, a value towards which I aspire. In the perfect world in God's kingdom, when every man sits in the shade of his own vine and fig tree, when every man's fondest wish is to know God, then will that value be realized.

But in my world of values, there is also a value called the sacredness of life, and this is a very important value, the saving of a life. And it is here that the two values clash, and it is here that the wisdom of life begins. And that wisdom dictates that we must weigh one value against another. We call this game Tora wisdom. scales tilt?

[Ravitz] The scales say that not all of Israel with its historic boundaries which extend beyond the conquered territories to the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, not all of Israel, and not at any price, especially not at the price of lives.

Rabbi Ravitz has a political program. It was born when he drove with a friend from Holland to Belgium. Suddenly his friend speeded up. "Are you crazy?" Rabbi Ravitz asked. "No," his friend replied. "We are in Belgium. We are allowed to go faster here." The rabbi was inspired. "Why shouldn't this be true of us too?" he asked himself. "Today Jews are living in the conquered territories, about 4 percent of the total population, under the Israeli flag and rule, and nationalism reigns, but there is no peace. Why not make a true peace with the Arabs? This nation desires peace. My plan is that after a true peace is forged, that percent of Israelis whose numbers are about the same as the number of Arabs who lived in the State of Israel before the Six Day War will be able to

live in the territories with the approval of the two nations. The boundaries will be open. We will be able to travel there and they here without a passport."

[HADASHOT] And what about the flag?

[Ravitz] I respect the flag, but in this case, when we are speaking of 20 percent of Jews living there instead of 4 percent, how important is the flag then? Won't this respond to the needs of those who love Israel, who want to fulfill the commandment of settling in Israel? And I will tell you something else jokingly. It will satisfy the Jews to be able to go there without having to fly in a jet. They will get in their cars and fulfill the dream of the wandering Jew with a short trip.

What do you think—that if we continue to hold on to the territories that we will succeed in settling millions there? How many settlements do you think the Likud will be able to establish? Who wants to live there today? After all, we are talking about danger to life.

[HADASHOT] That sounds almost leftist.

[Ravitz] It is definitely not leftist. It comes from a conviction that there is no other way. But it cannot happen in a day. The two nations must be taught to live together. The Arabs, especially, must learn to accept us. This is an educational decision to live side by side with the Arabs, just as the Jewish people have always lived alongside other peoples. Peace is not likely if a state is established here without Jews. It will not work!

After he finished his work in No'am Academy, Rabbi Ravitz transferred to Qiryat No'ar, the largest religious yeshiva in Israel, which he directed. Fourteen years ago, he arrived at Or-Sameah and established the Israeli department in the yeshiva that was known as American.

"I got to know Iqa Yisra'eli who began his repentance in the Diaspora. Together we began our work. At first, a few people came, like the actor Arye Yitzhaq who brought Yig'al Oren. They were in the La Mama Theater. Arye Yitzhaq stayed at my house with Merav Gari. Later they divorced and Arye remarried and has a lovely family. Gradually, the Israeli group grew. More and more Israelis were added."

[HADASHOT] You established the Israeli section to get people to repent?

[Ravitz] No one can make someone repent if they do not want to. Only someone who wants to has the spiritual strength to make so great a change. People come to me who are searching, and I stay with them and give them the appropriate answers. I give them Judaism. I have a great deal of experience in this realm. In recent years, I have spoken to over 100,000 Jews.

[HADASHOT] Have you stopped to think about what these penitents are giving up?

[Ravitz] Certainly they lose some things, but they gain more. By the way, all the walls of our house are covered with paintings by Iqa Yisra'eli. He did not lose anything. He is still painting. Others whom I knew who were involved in their secular lives with music are still involved with music.

[HADASHOT] And what about those who used to be in sports?

[Ravitz] No, it is not forbidden according to religious law.

[HADASHOT] And what about a female penitent who used to be a singer?

[Ravitz] There are women who continue to sing. There is a singer named No'a Be'eri. She sings beautifully, but only for women. What is wrong with that?

[HADASHOT] Would you let your daughter marry a penitent?

[Ravitz] Usually a penitent marries another penitent. Both members of a couple need to be like-minded. Do you think that penitents forget their earlier lives? They are of one mind, they speak the same language, and it is completely natural that they would marry each other.

[HADASHOT] Orna Ban'ay said that a woman penitent has no chance of marrying the son of an orthodox family.

[Ravitz] Why fool ourselves? Orna Ban'ay was a divorcee with children when she repented. Even in secular society that is not considered a great catch.

[HADASHOT] And in the second generation? Can the son of a penitent marry the daughter of one of the good families?

[Ravitz] The children of Uri Zohar will all be able to marry people from orthodox homes. They are very popular. Uri is seen as a scholar. He is very accepted and respected, and his children even more so. He has a wonderful daughter. He will have many suitors to choose from. I would give my son tomorrow to Ahino'am, Uri's daughter.

We are on excellent terms with Uri. He did a television spot for SHAS because that is his job, but he appeared several times with us for events and classes. Uri became a scholar, and then too, we are not unaffected by stardom. We too are impressed with someone who is a star.

[HADASHOT] Are you exposed to our culture?

[Ravitz] You cannot imagine how much. I walk down the street and I am exposed to it. I turn, therefore, to the secular world and say: "Friends, I am influenced by you.

You are influenced by me too. Don't be afraid of me. I look a little different, but I am a native of Tel Aviv, a part of Israeli society. Do not exclude me from the society."

I love music and art, I am a man of culture, and I am a part of your world. I love the same things you love. I love peace and the human race, so what is the difference between us? Here the two of us drank coffee and we both enjoyed it. The only difference was that I recited a blessing before I drank.

[HADASHOT] But if you could, you would try to force me to recite a blessing too.

[Ravitz] I would not force you to do anything. I would try to persuade you.

[HADASHOT] What is your attitude towards Professor Liebovitch?

[Ravitz] I see positive and true things in Professor Liebovitch. But I have no obligation to relate to the things he says as to a complete system. I believe that the balanced Judaism resides in us, not Liebovitch, who, like RAKAH, wants two states for two nations—one for the orthodox and one for the secularists. I see no way to divide the nation in two. I see only one nation which realizes the living Judaism....

[HADASHOT] And what about Rabbi 'Amital?

[Ravitz] He is making the mistake of the Oriental movement. He compromises with the secularists and thus misses the mark. I do not believe in compromise. For me it is the Shulhan 'Arukh (code of Jewish laws) to the end.

[HADASHOT] If you had to give a message to Shulamit Aloni regarding her approach to us, the secularists, what would you say?

[Ravitz] I would tell her: The most important issue that you represent is democracy, the rights of the individual. And I ask you to include me. I also deserve to have rights with all their ramifications. She is willing to let us live in peace but without any influence. I ask that she not fight me when I give a talk in the army. Let her come and give a talk as well. It is her right to try to influence, but it is my right too. I, the black orthodox one, ask Shulamit Aloni for tolerance.

I do not mean to force but only to persuade. I, therefore, do not demand religious laws because they are not appropriate. If we impose decrees on the public, we will be despised and it will not work.

If There Is Infidelity

[HADASHOT] There are things which a secular person can never accept. There are laws in the Tora which do not fit the 20th century, such as Levirate marriage, Halitsa (removing the sandal of a brother-in-law in the law of Levirate), illegitimacy, the law of a priest, and a divorced woman.

[Ravitz] Judaism, as a discipline which wants to protect family life, says about the issue of fidelity of a woman in relation to her husband: If there is a betrayal, the price will be very high, very high. The son who is born will be illegitimate.

[HADASHOT] It is inhuman to punish a newborn for the sins of its mother.

[Ravitz] I am not saying that I can explain this.

[HADASHOT] And why, when the child is born of a non-Jew, is it not illegitimate?

[Ravitz] I cannot view this subject the same way that you do. That is the difference between a secularist and an orthodox person. An orthodox person would not ask such questions.

[HADASHOT] But we are speaking of a newborn.

[Ravitz] Do you think I don't like babies? I have 12 children and 8 grandchildren. There are things that a secular person does not understand.

[HADASHOT] The greatest fear of the secularists is that you will make the laws stricter.

[Ravitz] We will not make things stricter. The "power of permissiveness" is preferable. We will be easier. I do not sit around and look for ways to spoil the lives of secularists.

[HADASHOT] You are orthodox?

[Ravitz] I am orthodox and I am black. But I say that black is beautiful.

Efforts To Judaize Muslim Quarter Described
44230032 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
30 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Nadav Shargay]

[Text] A dense iron net severely covers the windows of the house of Yuri Heller behind Herod's Gate in Jerusalem's Old City. On 11 occasions in the course of the uprising, Molotov cocktails have been thrown at this house, in which two other Jewish families live. An Israeli flag, seen from the distance, marks this Jewish house as a clear target in the heart of the Muslim Quarter. It is difficult to mistake it. Soldiers of the border guard patrol

in the adjacent sidestreets. They check suspects, frisk them, empty the contents of their pockets, and request to see identification papers. The children of the adjacent Sa'diyah neighborhood clean the sidestreets of the remnants of tear gas grenades, thrown once or twice a day by the border guard—Hanukkah games for Palestinians.

Once a week, former minister Mordekhay Ben-Porat enters this picture. His daughter, Tami Guri (a repentant [secular Jew who has become one of the faithful]), and her husband, Dani, acquired their house 7 years ago from the administrator-general of abandoned property. The couple used their savings to renovate the house, which was falling apart and in ruins when they acquired it.

Another personality who regularly visits the quarter is (reserve) Major General Rehav'am Ze'evi. His son has been studying for several years at the Shuvu Banim Yeshiva, a yeshiva for repentant Jews identified with the Breslau current of Hasidism. Shuvu Banim, also known as "Birkat Avraham," has given Jewish settlement in the Muslim Quarter a bad name. Almost every time this quarter has appeared in the headlines in recent years in connection with some incident, the name of the yeshiva or its students are somehow connected, rightly or wrongly.

Several years ago, after the murder of a student of the yeshiva, Eliyahu 'Emdi, in one of the sidestreets, 11 Muslim families were compelled to leave their home, which abuts the yeshiva's walls, out of fear of revenge. They returned to it 2 months later. Only last week, the leaders of the yeshiva submitted a complaint of libel against the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, whom they claim slandered the students, who had committed no wrongdoing. The trial, which is bound to occur soon, will not please members of 'Atarah Liyoshnah and 'Ateret Kohanim, two Jewish fellowships which have been active in the Muslim Quarter legally and clandestinely for more than 10 years.

Being in the spotlight is alien to the members of these fellowships. They maintain "there is no blessing save in what is hidden from the eye," in dismissing inquisitive journalists, seeking to get a close look at their activities. The 'Atarah Liyoshnah fellowship was established after the Six Day War by a group led by Rabbi Mordekhay Eliyahu, the current chief Sephardi rabbi, and Rabbi Simha Hakohen Kook, the Ashkenazi rabbi of Rehovot. In the writings of the fellowships, the goals of the society were defined with this expression: "To work for the redemption of Jerusalem by receiving and acquiring properties to house institutions concerned with Tora and good deeds, families, and single people." By properties, the society actually means primarily the redemption of Jewish properties in the Muslim Quarter, which were abandoned in incidents, and, if possible, and all the better, the acquisition of Arab properties as well.

A few years ago, a group of members of the 'Atarah Liyoshnah fellowship broke away and formed another fellowship, 'Ateret Kohanim, whose objectives are identical with those of 'Atarah Liyoshnah. The director of 'Ateret Liyoshnah, Yisra'el Fuechtevenger, and the director of 'Ateret Kohanim, Mati Dan, see themselves as faithfully continuing in the footsteps of the redeemer of the land, Yehoshua' Hanagin and the founders of the Jewish National Fund. Located next to the Temple Mount, the area of activity of the fellowships is one of the most sensitive in Israel.

The Waqf Begins Improvements

Four hundred Jews became based here in recent years by acquiring property using the method of acquiring one dunam and one house at a time. The financial and legal support given by government ministries to the activities of the Jewish fellowships in the Old City is quiet and only indirect. In the framework of coalitional negotiations, some parties are currently attempting to increase further the share set aside for these goals. Assistance is expressed through large monetary allocations among other ways.

For the purpose of acquiring buildings, removing the subleaseholders from the same buildings, and renovating the buildings, the two fellowships require large sums of money. These amounts are transferred to them in the framework of the coalitional allocations of the religious parties. Another budgetary source is the collection of contributions in Israel and abroad. The contributions are collected inter alia with the help of letters of recommendation signed by the two chief rabbis, Avraham Shapira and Mordekhay Eliyahu.

There are 21,000 people living in the Muslim Quarter 22 years after the unification of the city. With approximately 3,100 families living on 303 dunams, this quarter has the highest population density in Israel. In the 1972 census, the non-Jewish population of the Old City constituted 27.6 percent of the total non-Jewish population in Jerusalem. Many are flowing to the periphery. In the 1983 census, the non-Jewish population of the Old City constituted 19.3 percent of the total non-Jewish population of Jerusalem. The trend has continued in the 5 years which have passed since. In the Muslim Quarter, on the other hand, there is a contrary phenomenon. Not only are Jews coming to live there, but so are Arabs. In 1976, there were 44.5 residents per dunam living in the Muslim Quarter. In 1981, this figure increased to 64.3 per dunam. Statistics are not available for 1989, however the trend is continuing.

In the previous year, before the outbreak of the Intifadah, the Muslim Waqf began to renovate tens of old Mameluke buildings and other regular structures in the Muslim Quarter. From the Palestinian perspective, the Waqf is functioning as medicine for one who is beaten. Financing for the feverish wave of renovations is shared by the Jordanian Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Holy

Places, and Religious Trusts and UNESCO. The latter finances cultural activities, which include the renovation of Mameluke buildings. Muslim renovation activities began only recently against the background of the energetic activities of the Jewish fellowships in the Muslim Quarter, where a quiet struggle is developing between Jewish and Arab money for houses and property which can be taken by force or settled in.

The greatest opponent of Jewish activity in the Muslim Quarter is the Jerusalem municipal government headed by Teddy Kollek. In the platform of the city's "Jerusalem is One" faction, the mayor included a paragraph which explicitly rejects settlement in this area. The general city manager, Aharon Sarig, has previously explained that the city opposes the entrance of Yeshivas into the Muslim Quarter, because they constitute a source of unceasing friction between Jews and Arabs. In a meeting of the committee of ministers for Jerusalem affairs, Teddy Kollek stated that the separation between the Muslim Quarter and the Jewish Quarter must remain clear.

Without Serious Discussion

The mayor asked, "Do you know how much property on the Jewish side of the city is registered in the names of Arabs? What would happen if one day they, too, would desire to take control of it?" The governments of Israel have in fact honored the mayor of Jerusalem, and granted Kollek the honor which he deserves, however, in a series of matters they forced opinions on him that were not to his liking. This was the case when the neighborhoods and satellite cities were established around the capital. It has also been the case in recent years with the implementation of a policy that encourages Jews to populate the Muslim Quarter.

As stated, the city's hands are tied. It cannot take actions against Jews who are acquiring property legally in the Muslim Quarter. In the past, Teddy Kollek actually succeeded in bringing about a government policy which gives preference to the settlement of families over religious institutions, and which recommends the acquisition of properties adjacent to the Jewish Quarter, but not in the heart of the Muslim Quarter. However, because the committee that was supposed to supervise the implementation of these recommendations was not established, the Muslim Quarter in effect has become a field of activity with broad potential for all relevant parties.

When Dr Yosef Burg was still the minister of interior, an interministerial committee concerned with the Muslim Quarter functioned under him. The committee was headed by Efrayim Shala, the coordinator of the committee of ministers for Jerusalem affairs. A serious discussion of the recommendations of the committee never took place. From time to time, after a "flare-up" or

an increase in tensions in the area of conflagration, the police were mentioned in its report, but no one adopted it as the official policy of the state in the area of the Muslim Quarter.

The committee, whose decisions have not yet been published officially, decided, among other things, that residential buildings in danger of collapsing were to be destroyed and not renovated, because of the high cost of renovations in the Muslim Quarter and the desire to reduce the population in the area. Almost all members of the committee opposed Jews living in houses bordering the Temple Mount. Most of the members also thought that Jews should not be permitted to live in houses that were closed by security forces. The committee rejected the introduction of additional Jewish public institutions into the Muslim Quarter, and expressed the opinion that the settlement of families is preferable to the establishment of additional institutions in the Muslim Quarter.

Regarding the Jewish fellowships, 'Atarah Liyoshnah and 'Ateret Kohanim, acquired them according to their own considerations with private and governmental money. The committee determined that activity could be carried out only in areas of the Muslim Quarter which are adjacent to the Jewish Quarter, as for example, on Ma'aleh Khalidiyah street (previously Hebron Street). The committee sought to direct governmental ministries providing financial assistance to the different fellowships not to assist in the acquisition of properties in densely populated areas, except for those which were recommended, namely, those adjacent to the Jewish Quarter. Opinion was split in the committee over whether to approve the proposal of 'Ateret Liyoshnah for granting trusteeship to the State of Israel in the Muslim Quarter. The request was ultimately rejected by a majority vote. The representative of the director of the Israel Land Office [mkarka'e Yisrael?] was among the members who supported the draft resolution.

The Objective: Ma'aleh Khalidiyah

Teddy Kollek received an instructive example of how isolated he is in his conception in a festive ceremony organized by the Ministry of Housing to mark 20 years of restoration in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. The president of the state, Hayim Herzog; the deputy prime minister, David Levi; and the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, were sitting on the stage in the Cardo, which is the newly discovered Roman street. When the time came for Mordekhay Eliyahu to deliver the benediction, the founder of 'Ateret Liyoshnah decided to deviate from the accepted formula; the chief rabbi asked: How can one dare to speak of the restoration of the Jewish Quarter when the ruins of buildings in which Jews lived for hundreds of years are standing at a distance of 10 meters from here? Restoration of the quarter cannot end when the situation is such; it simply cannot be." President Hayim Herzog became somewhat emotional as a result of Eliyahu's statements. He arose a second time from his place, and recalled a childhood

memory. Herzog described how he walked with this father, the late chief rabbi, Yitzhaq Herzog, to the latter's installation ceremony as chief rabbi at the Hurbat Synagogue of Rabbi Yehuda Hehasid [famous synagogue in the Old City of Jerusalem which was destroyed by the Arabs in 1948]. "It is necessary to restore the hurbah," advocated the president of the state, as if to further buttress the statements of the chief rabbi. Teddy Kollek sat on the stage, silently.

The principle objective of the two fellowships is Ma'aleh Khalidiyah Street. Governmental elements have identified tens of houses in the Muslim Quarter that are owned by Jews. Most of them are under the authority of the administrator-general. On Hebron Street, the two fellowships have identified 15 different properties owned by Jews. A detailed list of abandoned Jewish property in the Muslim Quarter was prepared by "The Community Council of Jerusalem" in 1932, and was published in its entirety in 1949 by Yesh'yahu Peres in the Quarterly for Research of Jerusalem and Its History.

The objective of the activists of the fellowships is to actually expand the area of the Jewish Quarter to include the western wall [of the Temple] in a Jewish belt. So far, 11 buildings in the Muslim Quarter, which were under Jewish ownership during the British Mandate period, and several Arab buildings, have been transferred to Jewish ownership. As is known, a relatively new resident of the quarter is Minister Ari'el Sharon.

The first building transferred to Jewish ownership was the Torat Hayim Yeshiva on Hagi' Street. Immediately after the Six Day War, the Army evicted Arab residents from this building, and a book store and a yeshiva began to operate there. The rest of the sites began to be transferred to Jewish ownership at the beginning of the 1970's, usually in exchange for large sums of money.

In the vicinity of Ma'aleh Khalidiyah street, the following properties were transferred to Jewish ownership: The courtyard of the Western Community, in which Kohanim Yeshiva of 'Atarah Liyoshnah was opened; the Haye-'Olam courtyard, which was taken over by the Breslau people; and the Galicia Seminary courtyard, in which a number of families currently live, and in which the Tzion Hametzuyenet Synagogue is currently operating. A number of Jewish families also live in the adjacent 'Aseret-Nashim courtyard and Diskin orphanage. A second Jewish Quarter is actually being created on Ma'aleh Khalidiya street.

On Hagi' street at the corner of Hayesurim Street, in the courtyard of the Georgian Community, a synagogue is operating as well as the Hazon Yehezqiel Theological Institute, which is headed by Rabbi Nahman Kahanah. Also, a few years ago, a yeshiva was established in the Shomre-Hahomot Seminary building. Other Jewish families live in different parts of the Muslim Quarter, including the family living next to Herod's Gate.

JORDAN

Efforts To Support Housing Projects in West Bank Discussed

44000213 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
29-30 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] Amman (J.T.)—The Joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee for the Steadfastness of the Palestinian People Wednesday opened a two-day symposium on housing in the occupied Arab territories with calls on the Arab World to increase support for the Palestinian people in a drive to consolidate the Palestinian identity and maintain the Arab presence in the occupied lands.

The meeting will discuss working papers on the Israeli occupation authorities' plans in occupied Palestine, the role of housing in bolstering the steadfastness of the Arab inhabitants there and sources of financing housing projects for them.

Dr Ahmad Qatanani, who represented the Jordanian side at the talks, said the symposium was another link in a chain of joint Jordanian-Palestinian moves to back the Palestinian people's steadfastness in the face of Israel's colonisation programmes.

Qatanani, director of the foreign Ministry's Department of Palestinian Affairs, reviewed Israel's repressive measures aimed at evicting the Arab population from the occupied territories and setting up Jewish settlements there as well as demolishing Arab homes and imposing restrictions on the Palestinians cultivating their agricultural lands.

"Housing in the occupied territories assumes special importance due to its direct relation with the Arab-Israeli conflict and its social and economic effects on the local population and the people's jobs and livelihoods," Qatanani said. "All measures should be taken on the Arab side to counter Israel's Judaisation policies and plans to swallow up Arab territory," he said.

He said the Israelis had so far confiscated 53 per cent of the Arab lands in the West Bank and Gaza.

He reviewed the joint committee's efforts in helping the Palestinians set up homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip through their own personal efforts or with the help of local charitable organisations.

The head of the Palestinian side to the meeting, Dr Fu'ad Basisu, paid tribute to Jordan's efforts and support for the Palestinian people and repeated that the current meeting was part of joint endeavours to boost the steadfastness of the Palestinians in the face of Israel's oppression.

Israel's expansionist plans, he said, require a pan-Arab stance and a concerted effort to set up Arab housing projects for the local inhabitants in a bid to boost their steadfastness.

Reviewing Israel's settlement policies, Basisu said that to date the Israelis had built 222 settlements, of which 199 are in the West Bank housing 154,000 Jewish settlers.

KUWAIT

Joint Venture With Turkey To Promote Trade Ties Reported

44000253a Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English
22-23 Dec 88 p 12

[Article by Jadranka Porter]

[Text] The Kuwait Finance House (KFH) and Turkey's Waqf Financial Institution have set up a bank, which will open for the public in Istanbul in February.

The other partners in the joint venture are the Islamic Development Bank with headquarters in Jeddah and Kuwait's Social Security Company. But the KFH is a majority shareholder which means it will wield substantial influence in the management of the new institutions.

The new bank, with a paid-up capital of Turkish lira 15 billion, will primarily tap the potential created by an upsurge in commercial activity between Turkey and the Gulf.

Faysal al-Zamil, KFH's assistant-general manager, said the bank will deal in banking and investment activities and will promote trade within Turkey and between the Mediterranean country and the Gulf. The bank will observe Islamic banking principles.

Conditions

Al-Zamil said the market conditions bode well for the future of the new bank. The Gulf states and Turkey are keen to step up the commercial exchange, he said.

"The Turkish government is working hard to strengthen the commercial relations with the Gulf states. Our Turkish bank aims to take the advantage of this new activity by providing channels of investment for the interested parties" said Al-Zamil.

He explained that the Gulf's investors can support projects in Turkey on share basis or by financing factories that will produce goods which are in demand in the Gulf. He saw such opportunities in Turkey's furniture industry and added that the Gulf's consumers could benefit from such projects because production costs in Turkey are lower than in the West.

Co-Operation

But Al-Zamil said the emphasis is on two-way co-operation with Turkey seeking to participate in construction projects in Kuwait.

The Waqf Financial Institution has mainly dealt in property donated by the Muslims for charity purposes.

The KFH, whose volume of business is estimated at over \$3 billion, has substantial experience in Islamic banking. Its major shareholder is the Kuwaiti government with more than 60 percent of the shares. Although the KFH has been active in consumer financing it has a comparatively low rate of bad loans.

The KFH is also well established in the international market and owns several finance houses in Europe and the Far East.

The Turkish-Kuwaiti joint venture is the latest in a series of deals and agreements between the two countries. Turkey and Kuwait recently signed an investment agreement which includes the most-favoured nation provision.

Minister Explains Cause of Blackout

44000253b Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English
22-23 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Lima al-Khalfawi]

[Text] The blackout that hit Kuwait last Tuesday was caused by machine failure and human error, according to Dr Hamud al-Ruqbah, the Minister of Water and Electricity, at a press conference held yesterday at the Ministries Complex.

He said that the position of electricity generators in Kuwait is excellent and that such mistakes are purely technical. He added that a series of measures would be taken to prevent a reoccurrence in the future. The whole power network in the country is controlled by computers that automatically shift the power generators from one station to another in the case of a failure or emergency.

Tested

Speaking in detail about the causes of the total blackout that hit Kuwait on Dec 13, the official added that a unit 4 at the South al-Zawr power station was being tested. The maximum production capacity of each unit is 300 MW, but at present this is limited to a maximum power of 80 MW. He added that a test was being done on unit 4 to shift its maximum capacity to 300 MW: an ordinary test which has been carried out many times before. The technicians in charge of the station held a meeting before the test and also notified the main electricity control centre.

The minister said that the production capacity of unit No 4 was then shifted to the other three stations, number 6, 7 and 8. After successfully testing unit No 4, it was put off. Soon afterwards, unit No 6 went out of order which shifted the whole production capacity to only two units. This automatically caused the computer to shift part of the generation work to other stations and such a task could easily have been done without any problem. However, a technician in the Eastern Dawhah power station, trying to make both stations work at full capacity, switched on the link between East and West Dawhah. This caused both stations to stop which was the actual reason for the blackout.

Al-Ruqbah added that soon afterwards, a state of emergency was announced in the ministry as technicians and engineers on leave were called to carry out the necessary repairs. He said that the current was reconnected to the last area in Kuwait before 7.30 p.m., which was less than 10 hours from the start of the blackout. He praised all the engineers and technicians who exerted extensive efforts to repair the damage. The electricity was reconnected to some areas in less than three hours.

The minister also announced that a technical committee was set up to investigate the incident. He promised that whoever was responsible for the failure whether Arab, non-Arab or a Kuwaiti, would be suitably punished. The committee is expected to submit its report on the incident in two weeks' time. It consists of members from outside the ministry to "ensure its neutrality and fairness".

The minister also revealed that heavy and light industries in al-Shu'aybah and neighbouring areas were not affected by the blackout as the stations there continued to run as usual.

The minister said if the failure was proved to be intentional, the issue would be referred to the general prosecution.

There are 6 huge power stations in Kuwait, producing both electric power and distilling sea water for drinking purposes. The six power stations, two each in Dawhah and al-Shu'aybah and one each in Shuwaykh and al-Zawr, have a maximum daily production capacity of over 7,200 MW. The minister said that the ministry operates a number of stations namely Shuwaykh station with a power capacity of 195.3 MW, North al-Shu'aybah station with 330 MW capacity, South al-Shu'aybah station with 804 MW, Dawhah East with 1158 MW, Dawhah West with 24000 MW, and South Dawhah station with 2511 MW. The total capacity of these stations is 7398.34 megawatts.

Consumption

Kuwait's power consumption goes up sharply during the summer but according to the minister, the maximum electricity consumption in one day this summer was only

3,500 MW, which is less than half of the available production capacity. The minister stressed that this fact makes us feel very much secure about power generation.

Al-Ruqbah announced that the water rusting problem in drinking water has been solved by between 67 per cent and 98 per cent in some areas like Dasmah, Mansuriyah, Kayfan and Duwayjah.

Meanwhile, the minister denied news reports circulated by the Egyptian Middle East News Agency that the total cost of consultant studies for the transport of Iraqi fresh river water into Kuwait was three million dollars.

He told a local newspaper that the real cost of the study was only KD340,000, and that the study was being performed by the French consultant firm Soujrieh, which is supposed to submit its final report late this month, pointing out the technical and economic feasibility of the project.

Study on Water Pipeline From Iraq Described
44040219 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
29 Nov 88 pp 1, 20

[Text] AL-SIYASAH has learned that the advisory study which the French company CIGARO [as published] prepared on the importation of water from Iraqi rivers to Kuwait by way of special pipes was recently finished.

The aforementioned company signed a contract with the Ministry of Electricity and Agriculture last March to conduct a study on the acquisition of 500 million gallons a day in two stages.

The first stage: 200 million gallons of fresh water daily, 100 million gallons of water for agriculture daily.

The second stage: 150 million gallons of fresh water daily, 50 million gallons of water for agriculture daily.

The company conducted indepth research and determined the source of the water, the route of the lines, the positions of the stations, and the treatment and storage. It presented a number of technical and economic alternatives with the aim of arriving at the best means of bringing water to Kuwait.

This enterprise is a new addition to social and economic cooperation in the Arab world. It is known that there is Kuwaiti-Iraqi cooperation in the natural gas field. The agricultural sector in Kuwait will be able to benefit from this water and become a green oasis.

It mentions that Kuwait consumes approximately 1,675 million gallons of water a day. It recently prepared new methods of filtering the water by way of reverse osmosis stations, one of which produces approximately 250 million gallons a day.

AL-SIYASAH has learned that the Iraqi Government proposed to Kuwait that they share the water line at Safwan on the Kuwaiti-Iraqi border. However Kuwait preferred a direct line from the water source, which was determined in the region of al-Kasr River where it branches off from al-Gharraf at a deep point, in order to simplify the operation of drawing fresh, good drinking water and which is located within the province of al-Nasiriyah.

AL-SIYASAH also learned that Iraq will undertake to supply the electrical needs of the Kuwaiti pumping stations on Iraqi soil, so that cooperation will not stop on the subject of water, but will be followed by cooperation in the field of electric energy.

OMAN

Trade Minister, Delegation Leave for Tehran
JN2612074288 Manama WAKH in Arabic
0620 GMT 26 Dec 88

[Text] Muscat, 26 Dec (WAKH)—Omani Trade and Industry Minister Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali headed for Tehran this morning on an official 3-day visit to Iran.

In a predeparture statement carried by Muscat radio, al-Ghazali said that his visit comes at the invitation of the Iranian heavy industries minister. He indicated that a memo of understanding will be signed during the visit to establish a joint committee for promoting bilateral trade and economic relations.

He explained that this committee will specify dimensions of bilateral cooperation in the trade and industrial fields, as well as the holding of fairs in both countries.

The Omani minister said that he will also hold talks on promoting the volume of trade exchange between Oman and Iran.

Al-Ghazali added that the Omani Government under His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id always seeks to promote relations with brothers, neighbors, and friends in all fields.

The Omani minister is accompanied on the visit by a delegation comprising Sa'id ibn Nasir al-Khusaybi, executive chairman of the general corporation for the marketing of agricultural products, and senior officials at the Omani Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Memorandum of Economic Understanding With Iran Signed
44000256 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 29 Dec 88 p 7

[Text] A memorandum of understanding between Iran and the Sultanate of Oman was signed yesterday stipulating the formation of a joint economic industrial

committee and the exchange of visits of experts in the two countries in order to find ways to develop commercial and economic relationships between them.

Likewise, the memorandum stipulates holding successive sessions of the joint economic committee in Tehran and Muscat within the coming months.

The memorandum was signed according to Radio Tehran by Engineer Behzad Nabavi, minister of heavy industry on behalf of the Iranians, and by Salim Ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali, minister of commerce and industry on behalf of the Omanis.

New Oil Discovery Discussed

44000245 Muscat *TIMES OF OMAN* in English
29 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] A significant new oil find has been made by Petroleum Development Oman [PDO]. This find of light oil lies deep beneath the al-Huwayshah field in north Oman which at present produces from the Shu'aybah formation.

This means it will be cheaper than expected to produce because there are existing production facilities.

In addition, it is the first important find in the mafraq rock formation and thus opens up new exploration prospects for the future.

PDO's exploration manager, Pieter de Ruiter said: "We have found indications of oil in the Mafraq formation before, but never in such quantities. We are planning follow-up exploration wells to find out more about the extent of this reservoir which has the advantage of being underneath existing facilities, making it cheap to bring on stream."

The discovery well was drilled by Rig 9 in March and April and was the second deep well at al-Huwayshah. The first also found oil but in small quantities. Both were part of a deep exploration drilling campaign in the north that has followed the discovery of oil at Yibal Deep in late 1986.

The Shu'aybah reservoir at al-Huwayshah has also been significantly extended laterally with oil finds in two new wells drilled last month by Rigs 7 and 5.

Two other smaller finds have been made by PDO. Rig 11 has found a new field, Mafraq, 30 kilometres south of Qarn 'Alam. The discovery well was drilled in October encountering heavy oil in two separate formations.

Pieter de Ruiter commented: "This is about the heaviest oil we have found in Oman. The field will be a possible candidate for the steam soak recovery method in the future and it has the advantage of being close to existing production facilities at Qarn 'Alam."

Another small find was made in October at Bayyinah in south Oman close to Marmul. It was drilled by Rig 3.

QATAR

Nationalization of Steel Company Discussed

44000254 Doha *GULF TIMES* in English
29 Dec 88 pp 1, 21

[Article by K.N. Sharma]

[Text] Qatar takes over management of Qatar Steel Company from Japanese Kobe Steel on January 1 symbolising what some senior Qatari officials felt a momentous achievement in the young nation's industrial and technological history.

The formal take over was marked yesterday by a celebratory party at the Doha Sheraton Hotel attended by HE Issa Ghanim al-Kuwari, Information Minister, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mana, Industry and Agriculture Undersecretary, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khulayfi, information undersecretary and Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Jabir al-Thani, Deputy Director of the Industrial Development Technical Centre.

The achievement is expected eventually to lead, in due course, to similar transition in other hydrocarbon-based heavy industries, such as Qatar Fertilisers and Qatar Petrochemicals, where minority share-holding Norwegians and French have been respectively in control under management and marketing contracts.

The Qasco management transfer was effected as per the Emir, HH Shaykh Khalifa ibn Hamad al-Thani's, and the Heir Apparent and Defense Minister, HH Shaykh Hamad ibn Khalifa al-Thani's declared policy of take over control of Qatari industries as and when Qatari engineers and technocrats are "ready and qualified" to shoulder their assigned responsibilities.

The Qasco team, headed by Mr Nasir M al-Mansuri, the new general manager, has proved its mettle in returning the company's maiden profit this year during the transition period.

The performance is expected to improve further, both Qasco chairman, Mr Ahmad al-Subay'i and Mr al-Mansuri said.

The new management yesterday granted a 50 percent share in profit to employees for their hard work and sincerity and Mr al-Subay'i announced that he would endeavour to continue the incentive in future if the company showed encouraging results due to the staff's sincerity.

This year's "50 percent profit-sharing" works out to half a month's basic wages for each employee.

Mr al-Subay'i told WEEKLY GULF TIMES that this year produced 160 percent more steel than its designed capacity permitted. Total output amounted to 534,000 tonnes—34,000 tonnes more than targetted—and sales 520,000 tonnes—20,000 tonnes more than the planned.

"This extra production and sale has given a remarkable increase in our profit," he said.

If the progress continues at this pace, Qasco is confident of wiping off its accumulated losses running into seven figures over the past nine years within the next three years.

The management take-over instils an enormous confidence and unleashes a new wave of energy among the Qataris and other staff.

Mr al-Subay'i said the "happy occasion" had come, not just because it had to come eventually.

"Our Japanese partners have sincerely helped us in the process. They never hid anything from us and they trained our staff well," he said.

Mr al-Mansuri said Qasco had been spending an average of QR1 per tonne chasing latest steel technology.

"In the past 10 years our society has digested steel technology, and now we have the capability to adopt and develop it further," he said.

The outgoing Japanese general manager Mr Kazuhiko Okubo, who now takes over as chief adviser to Qasco, said, addressing a management transfer ceremony at the Sheraton, that the new Qatari management was highly qualified and capable of maintaining the plant's sterling record.

He said the company had a "brighter future.

"It was our pride to be Qasco and take part in its development. Now a new era begins in Qasco. Every one should support the new management," he urged.

The Japanese team will continue to assist the new management in an advisory capacity for another three years under an "advisory service contract" signed yesterday. Kobe Steel will also continue to hold a 20 percent stake in the company; and so will the Tokyo Boeki, another minority partner holding 10 percent interest in Qasco.

The function, accompanied by a dinner, was marked by cordiality and exchange of pleasantries between the incoming and outgoing teams.

Other questions included ambassadors of India, Japan, and Bangladesh, and heads of different government departments and bankers.

The new management takes over on New Year Day.

Sewage Treatment Plant Established

44000255 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 24 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] The second sewage treatment plant is in its final stages of activation according to Engineer Jasim al-Sayigh of the sanitary disposal unit in the Ministry of Public Works, and it will soon go into operation to serve 100,000 persons living in the regions of al-Rayyan, al-Gharafah, the 2 towns of South Khalifah and North Khalifah, and al-Dafnah.

He pointed out that the most modern treatment methods are followed in the plant operating in the al-Nu'ayjah region.

He said that the daily output treated by the plant reaches 65,000 cubic meters, 5 percent of which is separated out as organic manure for soils.

SAUDI ARABIA

Trade Relations With PRC Established, Broader Relations Sought

44040138A Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic
13 Nov 88 p 13

[Article: "Saudi Arabia and China Agree To Establish Trade Representation Offices"]

[Text] Riyadh (News Agencies)—The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China have agreed to establish trade representation offices in each of the two countries. A note of understanding to this effect was signed the day before yesterday in Washington between Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz and Han Xu, the ambassadors of Saudi Arabia and China in the United States.

The Saudi News Agency indicated that this step came out of a desire to develop the long-standing trade and economic relations between the Saudi and Chinese peoples.

The agency added, "Out of a desire to develop the long-standing trade and economic relations between the people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China, the governments of the two countries have decided to establish trade representative offices in the two capitals."

Official Chinese figures show that the volume of trade between China and Riyadh during the first 9 months of 1987 was 943 million yuan (approximately \$255 million).

Saudi Arabia has had no official representation in the countries of the Eastern Bloc or China since severing its relations with the Soviet Union in the thirties.

Saudi Arabia and Bahrain are the only two Arab states that do not have diplomatic relations with Moscow or Beijing.

In the last few years, signs from the Soviet Union and China have indicated a desire on the part of the two countries for a rapprochement with the kingdom. These signs have included the sending of officials to Saudi Arabia.

An American analyst recently said that China has increased the number of Chinese Muslims allowed to perform the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca so that the number now stands between 3,000 and 4,000 pilgrims a year.

Diplomats have said that Saudi Arabia wants to broaden the scope of its relations to include great powers other than the United States because of Washington's support for Israel and the American Congress's rejection of the sale of weapons to Riyadh.

In a move that surprised Washington, Saudi Arabia confirmed last March that it had bought medium-range missiles from Beijing.

Prince Bandar visited Beijing last month, raising speculations that the two countries would establish diplomatic relations. Diplomats have said that this step was unlikely to be taken in the near future, due to the close relations linking Riyadh and Taiwan.

New Titanium Dioxide Plant To Be Built
44040138B *Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 8 Nov 88 p 2*

[Article: "Gulf Investment Organization Establishes Factory To Produce Titanium Dioxide in Yanbu", Saudi Arabia, Yearly Capacity 45,000 Tons"]

[Text] Riyadh (AL-WATAN Bureau)—The Gulf Investment Organization has obtained commercial registration from the Ministry of Commerce in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for one of its industrial projects—the National Titanium Dioxide Company (Crystal), Ltd. The company will undertake construction of a titanium dioxide plant in the industrial city of Yanbu', Saudi Arabia, with an annual capacity of 45,000 tons.

The Gulf Investment Organization played a fundamental role in the establishment of the Crystal project, contributing 24 percent of the capital paid out (120 million Saudi riyals). In addition, the organization is responsible for taking steps to provide a \$40-million (150-million Saudi riyal) commercial loan to the project.

It should be mentioned that the Saudi Fund for Industrial Development has approved a 242-million riyal industrial loan to the National Titanium Dioxide Company, representing 50 percent of total investments in this vital project.

Participating in this project along with the Gulf Investment Organization are the American company (Kirmji) Chemical, al-Sha'ir Commercial and Industrial Company, and contractors in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as well as the Saudi National Manufacturing Company.

Titanium dioxide is considered an essential material for many chemical industries, such as dyes, paper, textiles, and plastics. The company's production of titanium dioxide is expected to fill the needs of the local Gulf market. The surplus will be exported to other Arab and international markets, which have in recent years seen rising demand for this vital material.

It should be mentioned that the great shortage in the supply of titanium dioxide will benefit the Crystal project because of the continuing increase in international demand for the material. The nature of the project will also be advantageous, inasmuch as the most modern technologies for titanium dioxide production have been chosen. The use of chlorine will tend to solve many of the environmental pollution problems that most existing factories relying on old technology encounter.

The participation of the Gulf Investment Organization in creating the National Titanium Dioxide Company derives from the organization's faith in the fundamental role for which it was created—to support and develop the industrial sector in the region of the GCC countries.

SUDAN

Price Increases Prompt Anti-NIF Demonstrations
45190023 *Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Dec 88 p 24*

[Article by Jean Gueyras]

[Text] Khartoum—The economic crisis, which was temporarily eclipsed by the peace proposal put forward by Mohammed Osman al-Mirghani, head of the Democratic Unionist Party (PDU), has surged to the forefront with the government decision to increase the price of sugar by 500 percent. This increase, accompanied by a tax of 15 percent on all imported or locally produced goods and an increase of 50 percent in the price of cigarettes, has provoked a general national outcry. Particularly since this came 48 hours after the announcement of increases ranging from 100 percent to 300 percent for certain wage categories.

After a day of street manifestations on Tuesday, 27 December, the parliamentary group of the Oumma Party, headed by Prime Minister Sadek al-Mahdi, made it known late in the evening that it had recommended that the Council of Ministers reconsider the increases and had issued an appeal to the people for calm.

On Tuesday, AL MIDAL, the journal of the Communist Party, wrote, reflecting a widespread view, that the government had taken back with one hand what it had given with the other, thus canceling out all of the

advantages which the wage increase might have offered the most neglected strata of the people. Whether meant as a provocation or simply a clumsy move, this drastic increase in the price of sugar, an item which is a part of the basic diet of the people of Sudan, inflamed the populace. Thousands of demonstrators paraded in scattered fashion along the main arteries in the three towns which make up the capital (Khartoum, Omdusman and Khartoum-Nord), railing against the government with cries of "The People Are Hungry," "The Government Has Sold Us Out—It Must Be Changed." The demonstrations, which were apparently spontaneous, did not lead to any major incident.

The demonstration very quickly took a clearly anti-Islamist turn, with the participants challenging the activities of Hassan al-Tourabi's National Islamic Front (NIF). "Tourabi Has Gone Mad;" "The Religion Peddlers Are Stealing the Food of the People;" "There Can Be No Islam if We Are Hungry;" and "Long Live Peace!" were among the demonstrators' slogans. In front of the PDU headquarters on the bank of the Nile, the demonstrators chanted "Hang In There, Abou Hachem!" (This is one of Mr Mirghani's given names). In this way they made it clear that they were opposed to any compromise with the government in connection with the Addis Ababa proposal and that they wanted him to leave the cabinet.

Following the failure of his peace initiative, Mohammed al-Mirghani is hesitating to move forward. He had threatened to withdraw from the government if he did not obtain satisfaction, and if the Addis Ababa agreement signed with Colonel Garang, the leader of the rebellion in the South, was not fully approved by the Parliament (LE MONDE, 23 December). The consequences of such a decision seems to have frightened the leaders of the PDU, who appear to be divided on the timeliness of this possibility.

It is Mr Mirghani, the "Hero of Peace," who will make the decision, in the final analysis. However, his maneuvering room remains limited. Apparently he wants to reach an arrangement with the leaders of the Oumma and the NIF, with whom he has just held talks. But above all, he wants to avoid giving the impression that he is in the process of abandoning those who were mobilized in support of his proposal. As a result he has decided to consult, before making a statement, with all of the political, trade-union, professional, and other organizations which joined together for this purpose within a national committee. Mr Mirghani does not appear to be in a hurry, and he will not make his decision public until 31 December, the date on which the constitutional conference, so long awaited, should in theory take place, if the Addis Ababa agreement has survived the misunderstanding prevailing within the so-called "national entente" cabinet.

In opposition circles, there is talk of a "veritable operation designed to divert" Mr Mirghani's initiative on the part of the prime minister, and a "return to square one." This point of view has apparently been confirmed, in part, by the head of the NIF, Mr Hassan Tourabi.

In fact, everything seems to indicate that with a view to settling the problem in the South, the Sudanese leaders are relying above all on an agreement with Ethiopia, and a mutual commitment by the two governments in Khartoum and Addis Ababa to limit the activities of the rebels.

The majority of the country's leaders now realize that a military victory is impossible, and that the continued fighting is ruining the country, slowly but surely. The war is costing nearly a half a million dollars every day. The foreign debt is roughly \$14 billion, with an additional \$5 billion in payment arrears, and the total is increasing daily while the coffers of the state are empty.

Islamic Bank Pioneers Experiment in Financing Small Farms

45040076 Khartoum AL-ADWA' in Arabic
18 Oct 88 p 5

[Article: "AL-ADWA' Symposium: Pioneering Experiment in Small Farm Financing Opens New Horizons in Rural Development"]

[Text] Sudan is an agricultural country; 80 percent of its population depends directly on agriculture and cattle grazing for its livelihood. Its national economy is almost fully dependent on farm and grazing land production.

Agriculture in Sudan is still largely primitive in the sense that farmers and herdsmen barely produce enough to meet their own and their families' needs and only a small part of their production is sold on the market in semi-primitive ways.

For these reasons, the country is experiencing a considerable shortage in foodstuffs and inflated raw material prices.

All of this is happening at a time when hundreds of agricultural college graduates are unemployed and farmers and herdsmen suffer unemployment for long periods of time each year.

The well-known secret behind such hardship is that investment in agriculture and cattle raising is almost nonexistent and the small pledges that find their way to farmers and herdsmen end up with large farm owners who live in the cities and know how to deal with state institutions, banks, and other financial firms.

As for small farmers and herdsmen who are the sinews of life and who represent the overwhelming majority of the country's population and the cornerstone of the national economy, they are isolated from modern sources of financing and sophisticated marketing apparatuses.

To get them and the country out of this bottle, the bottleneck must be broken and the necessary funds and modern technology must be made available so they may raise their production, improve their standard of living, and realize a profitable return over and above their needs so that they may personally join the investment cycle and double output and profits.

Agricultural field production techniques in Sudan are basically dependent on the farmer's muscle power and his family. Farmers are often unable to finance their personal and farming needs and therefore resort to borrowing from merchants who specialize in the crop mortgage system whereby farmers get what they need in exchange for their crops. Naturally, these merchants buy these crops at the lowest price and the farmer continues to suffer from deprivation, output levels are kept low, and the country is left to suffer from poverty and backwardness.

The only way out will continue to be in bringing poor small farmers into the modern economic cycle, in making necessary funds available to them, and in introducing modern production techniques to their farms.

One Step on a 1000-Mile Road

It was inevitable that a financial institution sensitive to the concerns of the country and the people should grapple with this problem and take a risk by going into the field of financing this broad sector that has been cut off from the modern economic course. The government has set up a special agricultural bank but it has commissioned it to take care of everything related to agriculture such as seed, fertilizer, pesticides, tractors, and water pumps in addition to the purchase, storage, and distribution of crops.

A bank shouldering all these responsibilities in the economy of the agricultural mainstay is expected to have a capital equal to agriculture's share in the national economy. Events, however, underscore the fact that the capabilities the government is making available to this specialized bank, the Agricultural Bank, do not meet one percent of the actual needs of the agricultural sector, to say nothing of allowing it to play a pioneering role in the agricultural sector's development and financing and to make modern means available to it.

Nonetheless, the Agricultural Bank has played a remarkable role in financing some farmers in accordance with the traditional financing systems based on interest rates and collateral. This bank undertook pioneering experiments in financing some agrarian cooperatives, but these experiments were halted due to inadequate resources and complicated financial and legal procedures followed in the business of financing.

Thus, it was inevitable that the private sector should go into the business of financing small farmers, given the flexibility this sector enjoys. And since capital is cowardly by nature, private sector financial firms that have ventured into financing small farmers have to be spurred by nationalistic and human motives that transcend any possible losses they may incur.

The Sudanese Islamic Bank's pioneering venture was initiated under the leadership of Mr Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah, the shrewd administrator who knew the Sudanese people and their problems before he got to know how financial firms are run and who secured funds that were not being used to help the needy or to alleviate hardships. Nor were they being used to build a nation, but rather were a torture branding the foreheads of their hoarders on judgment day. The general manager of the Sudanese Islamic Bank and his assistants found in the Islamic financing system a way out for the money hoarders on judgment day, a way out for the strapped farmers—that they are the charge of the people—and a way out of the vicious economic cycle the country has been in for a long, long time.

With God's help, the bank embarked on the experiment, employing all the experience and know-how it had amassed in financing small needy farmers without putting up land for collateral and without usurious interest rates. The bank found in the Islamic financial system various ways to finance this group that has broad economic resources and limited sources of financing such as partnerships and crop and profit-sharing. Indeed, bank experts discovered that conventional farming systems in many parts of Sudan are based on Islamic foundations that do not conflict with the principles of Islam.

AL-ADWA' Seeks the Truth

Even though the Sudanese Islamic Bank's experiment achieved greater social and financial success than anticipated, the bank was careful not to publicize it through the modern mass media but via conventional media such as word of mouth, which was powerful, more articulate and, as proven scientifically, more credible.

AL-ADWA' learned about this news at the beginning of this year and began searching for the truth. The general manager of the bank, Mr Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah, confirmed this news in a meeting with AL-'ADWA in Tanzania last May. The news was also confirmed to the editor-in-chief last July by a number of businessmen and financiers in London who showered praise on Mr Badawi Ba-Bakr, the bank's rural development officer.

AL-'ADWA insisted on knowing the truth from the source, and the bank responded last week. A symposium on this issue was held first at the newspaper's headquarters, but, due to a power outage, it was moved to the bank. The following bank administration officials took part in the symposium:

- 'Abd-al-Majid Mansur, deputy director of the bank,
- 'Abd-al-Hafiz Ibrahim 'Abidin, director of public relations.

And the following advisors and consultants:

- Professor 'Abdallah Ahmad 'Abdallah, dean of the Khartum University School of Agriculture, former director of the university, former minister of agriculture and former governor of the Northern Region;
- Dr 'Uthman Khalifah, former minister of agriculture for the Central Region; and
- Dr Salah-al-Din al-Shazili, professor at the Development Research and Studies Center of the Khartoum University School of Economics.

Mr Muhammad al-Husun Ahmad opened the symposium by welcoming the participants, underscoring the importance of the Sudanese Islamic Bank's experiment as a unique and pioneering bank endeavor, both domestically and internationally, and alluding to the attention it has received in some international financial circles and to the efforts a number of local banks have made to become acquainted with it with a view to applying it on a larger scale. He said that AL-'ADWA was glad to do its share by publishing all the news about this experiment that is of concern to competent officials and citizens and about its success and potential for developing and popularizing it.

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Mansur, the bank's deputy manager who played a key role in planning, implementing, and following up the experiment in view of his over a quarter-of-a-century banking experience, took the floor. He said: "It is necessary to present a brief account of the establishment of the Sudanese Islamic Bank, its guiding principles, and its plans to make active contributions to the development of the national economy and to turn the wheels of growth in the country. The bank was founded on the shoulders of men who have led the national movement in Sudan and are concerned with the country's economic and social development. Hence, one of the bank's objectives is to take part in economic development and ameliorate harsh living conditions. Consequently, it was natural that the bank should turn to financing the traditional agricultural sector that puts out 75 percent of the agricultural product in the country."

In keeping with the bank's objectives and general policy, bank general manager Mr Muhammad Khalifah pointed out that the bank must look into the possibility of assisting this sector that has been denied all banking facilities because it did not know the way to the banks and did not possess adequate guarantees to obtain financing. Even if it did manage to get to the banks, the banks did not know how to deal with it and were unable to muster their procedures to provide it with the required financing at the proper time.

Since the banks' usurious relationship with the clients is that of creditor and debtor, a relationship repulsive to the traditional farmer in view of the restrictions it imposes on his freedom and independence, it was necessary to follow methods derived from customs and traditions and inspired by the tolerant Shari'ah that do not require real estate collateral, do not bind the small farmer with restrictions, and do not place him in a maze but rather makes him a partner instead of a debtor.

The experiment began by financing small farmers in the al-Shuhaynab area north of Omdurman via the sharing system. The bank went to the farmers and this may have been the first time in the history of Sudan that a bank goes to the clients instead of the clients going to the bank as customary. The Sudanese Islamic Bank offered them the experiment, which was very successful and enabled the farmers to obtain huge profits which they could not have obtained through conventional financing and allowed the bank to gain valuable expertise and lucrative profits.

The al-Shuhaynab experiment was in potato growing, and one of its positive aspects was that it helped enlarge the cultivated area and increase output. The experiment showed that successful farming alone is not enough because there is the problem of marketing the crops. When the farmer harvests his crops, he is subjected to many pressures, the most important of which is that prices at the beginning of the harvest are very low and, because he needs the money, he is forced to sell his crops to cold storage plants or to those who have the financial means to bear the exorbitant costs of storage. Therefore, farmers were unable in some cases to earn enough to cover production costs and thus were compelled to cultivate smaller areas.

To overcome this problem and guarantee a profitable return for farmers, the bank undertook upon itself to finance the cost of storing the potato crop, thereby increasing the cultivated areas tenfold in certain cases. Meanwhile, it provided farmers with enough funds to meet their personal needs by paying half the value of their crop at harvest time, thus enabling them to wait for the prices to improve so that they might get a profitable return, especially since the returns from storage financing go directly to the farmer. The bank leased a cold-storage plant from the Arab Company for this purpose, and is in the process of purchasing a cold-storage unit which will be owned by the farmers themselves through regressive sharing, thereby allowing them to realize higher profits.

Perils of Agricultural Financing

The Sudanese Islamic Bank's experiment in al-Shuhaynab and other areas of the Sudan has proven that farm financing is profitable to the financier and that its perils are much less than the commercial banks imagine.

The bank is glad to offer models of its experiment to other banks, financial institutions, and companies that will encourage them to go into small farm financing which will be more profitable than they expect.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this experiment is its popularity with the farmers. The convincing evidence of its popularity is the fact that it has been publicized without any announcement by the bank. The experiment has expanded from growing potatoes in al-Shuhaynab to planting onions in al-Sarurrah, Islanj Island, and Shanadi and vegetables in the al-Dmir countryside, extending to Jabal al-Nuba, al-Damazine, Umm Rawabah, and al-Qadarif. It has also branched out into animal breeding after going into the poultry business with some poor families east of the Nile and the Khartoum North countryside.

The Sudanese Islamic Bank went into the poultry business in cooperation with the Social Welfare Agency of the Ministry of Animal Wealth and a Dutch aid foundation. It was a bold and largely successful endeavor aimed at turning families dependent on welfare into productive ones, thereby going into a more social than money-making business.

The result of the project is that it offers these families battery coops with a 100-egg-laying-chicken capacity, allowing families to realize an average additional income of 200 pounds a month from egg sales after making payments for the battery coop and the cost of the chicken. As a result of the Dutch aid of 1 million guilders, the experiments were expanded to include 400 families in Madani, al-Manaqil, and Shanadi.

Mr Kamal Abu-'Aqilah of the Rural Development Department added that the storage problem has been resolved. It has been decided to buy a special cold storage unit for the farmers who will finance the purchase. Special documents for its importation have been received and it will be ready next season. He pointed out that the cold-storage project has shown that once a goal is set to help small farmers it is easy to obtain foreign financing for the project.

On the other hand, the Sudanese Islamic Bank will provide basic agricultural material as well as machinery and other agricultural services. For this purpose, it has set up agricultural services units to be leased to farmers at cost, thereby sparing them the burden of owning machinery they cannot afford to buy.

He pointed out that the experiment has given small farmers experience in dealing with banks and has raised their awareness in this field that had been denied to them.

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Mansur commented that raising banking awareness is not enough because small farmers do not have time to go to banks in the center of Khartoum. Consequently, the bank decided to get closer to them by

opening branch offices in rural areas to save them the trouble of going to Khartoum and to give them the chance to deal directly with their financial backers.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Abu Dhabi's Achievements in 1988

44000241 Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English
25 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Abu Dhabi (WAM)—The inaugural speech of the second meeting of the ninth legislative chapter of the National Consultative Council hailed the various services and development projects which the Government has established in Abu Dhabi Emirate. The following points were highlighted.

—The achievements of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, ADNOC, under the directives of His Highness President Shaykh Zayid Ibn-Sultan al-Nahayyan ADNOC has adopted a balanced policy in maintaining high oil prices and stabilising world oil markets and to train national cadres to effectively take part in the country's development projects.

—Important projects established in the public sector by the General Industrial Corporation include:

—Use of computers in government institutions.

—Establishment of Abu Dhabi Pipes Plant.

—Establishment of a biscuits factory.

—Establishment of a communications cables plant.

Projects currently underway include:

The General Industrial Corporation is implementing an annual and monthly plan of sales and output in accordance with local and Gulf markets, and periodically supervises and assesses the performance of its plants.

Projects which have been completed during the current year by the Water and Electricity Department include a distillation plant, a project for filtering seawater in the al-Tawilah area and installation of distillation equipment at Jabal al-Zannah, Mirfa' and al-Sila'.

An electricity project linking Umm al-Nar, Abu Dhabi International Airport and al-Tawiah is also under way, as well as a project for modernising branch stations in Abu Dhabi.

The Public Works Department during the current year has built bridges and roads, has maintained the emirate's ports and has lengthened and deepened the East Road canal. It has also reclaimed the Sabkha area in Abu-al-Abyad island.

Building projects for the government have included: Abu Dhabi's new prison in al-Wathbah, new premises for the Department of Water and Electricity in al-'Ayn, a police station in Umm-al-Zumul, new premises for the al-'Ayn Civil Defence Department, the al-Kuwaytat police station and a mosque in Madinat Zayid.

Projects under way include: Construction of second stage of the Umm al-Nar-Suwayhan road, work on the Abu Dhabi-Sweihan road, construction of the Sulaymat and Wadi al-Tawilah bridges, dredging the Khawr Fari-dah canal, dredging and land reclamation at Sir Bani Yas island and reclamation in the Al Jarf area.

Other projects have included: Construction of 110 houses in al-Wathbah area, new premises for the Al Ittihad Corporation, new premises for primary schools in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn, a new complex for accommodating passports and customs officers in al-Sila', and establishing of many medical clinics in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn.

The Abu Dhabi Rehabilitation Centre for Handicapped has been built, as well as new premises for Khalidiya, Ruwais and Dalma police stations, boys and girls preparatory schools in Madinat Zayid and Al Dhafra, 200 popular houses in Liwa', primary and secondary schools in Abu Dhabi, al-'Ayn, Bani Yas and Ghiyathi, 200 popular houses in Shahama and girls secondary schools in Beda Zayed, Dalma and al-'Ayn.

The Civil Aviation Department has continued to provide a high standard of services to passengers at the Abu Dhabi International Airport. Central airconditioning systems have been installed in new parts of the Airport.

Computers are now being used for predicting weather, and many training programmes have been organised for nationals.

Projects under way include the construction of new waiting gates for passengers and transit visitors of the Abu Dhabi Airport and a general improvement of all services and facilities.

The Sea Ports Authority has completed a project for fishermen to enable them to anchor their fishing boats, and has built a fish market and an iceplant.

Agricultural projects during the year have included the installation of more areas inside and outside the city of Abu Dhabi, installation of irrigation pipes from Ghiyathi to Bainuna and Mirfa' and plantation of 75 hectares of date trees inside and outside the city of Abu Dhabi. Forestry plantation have been established in Liwa, Bida Zayed and Madinat Zayid.

27,630 trade licences were issued by Government Departments during the year.

The al-'Ayn Municipality and Agriculture Departments have completed the al-'Ayn sewerage project, a project for maintaining sewerage, stores and workshops, the Zakher-al Sha'abiya road, work on the al-'Ayn-Dubai road, establishment of 354 farms, plantation of 1,700 hectares with animal fodder and drilling 30 new wells.

Wells have also been drilled in Lafij al Aini, while a plantation of 200 hectares has been established in the area of the fertiliser factory.

The Court of the Ruler's Representative in the Eastern Region has completed construction of 40 popular houses in the Abu Samra area, road construction in some remote areas, construction of dams in Al Arraqeya and Al Shuwaib and has built new camel race tracks in Al Sahem and Salalah areas.

The Department of Social Service and Commercial Buildings has continued distribution of population houses and financial assistance to the poor.

Finally, the Department of Planning has backed the establishment of many economic projects in Abu Dhabi, has prepared economic studies and researches for modernising economy, has organised training programmes for nationals and has continued to issue periodical price lists of foodstuffs and building materials.

Study Provides Al-Shariqah's Industry Statistics
44040141B Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic
4 Nov 88 p 5

[Article: "Emirates Industrial Bank Reports Small and Medium Industries in al-Shariqah Form 35 Percent of Total Establishments in UAE"]

[Text] The Economic Studies Department of the Emirates Industrial Bank recently issued a study of industrial sector development in the UAE, focusing light on industrial developments in al-Shariqah Emirate during the period from 1977 to the end of 1987.

The report indicated that the emirate was able to increase its weight in the country's economic structure by increasing the number of industrial establishments, exploiting its strategic geographic position overlooking both the Arabian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. This position caused the port of Khawr Fakkan to acquire exceptional importance in the movement of trade between the UAE and the outside world.

As regards industrial changes that have occurred in al-Shariqah during recent years, the figures contained in the report show that industrial establishments with over 10 workers rose from 169 in 1977 to 205 last year [1987]. Workers in these plants rose from 3,173 to 6,840 during the same period. This represents 35 percent of total industrial establishments in the country and 18 percent of total workers in these establishments in 1987.

As for the volume of capital and funds invested in nonpetroleum industries, capital rose from 229 million dirhams in 1977 to 762 million dirhams at the end of last year [1987]—a 233 percent increase. Funds invested rose from 461 million dirhams to 996 million dirhams. These figures represent 8 percent of total industrial capital and 7 percent of funds invested in industry in the UAE.

The information about industrial establishments and the volume of investments makes it clear that the emirate's share amounts to approximately 35 percent and 7 percent, respectively. This means that most of the existing industries belong to the category of small or medium industries which do not require great capital.

In a related development, the value of industrial production during the period mentioned above increased greatly, reaching 1,045 million dirhams in 1987, compared with only 344 million dirhams in 1977. The value of industrial production in the emirate last year amounted to approximately 17 percent of the total value of industrial production in the UAE.

Value added in industrial establishments amounted to 386 million dirhams last year [1987], compared with 164 million dirhams in 1977, while net industrial value added rose from 136 million to 298 million dirhams in the same period.

Central Bank Publishes 1988 Government Spending Statistics

44040141A *Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic*
15 Nov 88 p 2

[Article: "5.7 Billion Dirhams in Federal Government Expenditures During First Half of the Year"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi (AL-BAYAN)—Federal government expenditures during the 2d quarter of 1988 were about 4.673 billion dirhams, compared with 1.1 billion dirhams during the 1st quarter of the current year [1988].

During 1987, these expenditures amounted to 12.5 billion dirhams, with 2.2 billion during the last quarter, and 3.1 billion during the 3d quarter.

A statistical bulletin of the Central Bank showed that the volume of current expenditures from total expenditures for the 2d quarter of 1988 was 4.662 billion dirhams, as follows:

- State ministries, including the Ministry of State for Supreme Council Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs, the Ministry of State, and the Federal National Council—19.6 million dirhams, compared with 21.2 million dirhams during the 1st quarter.
- Ministry of Finance and Industry—11.6 million dirhams, compared with 10.9 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Economy and Commerce—3.3 million dirhams, compared with 3.2 million dirhams.
- Ministries of Interior, Justice, and Defense—3.4 billion dirhams, compared with 235.9 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Public Works and Housing—11.5 million dirhams, compared with 11.8 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Communications—2.9 million dirhams, compared with 4.3 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Health—204.5 million dirhams, compared with 175.1 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries—20.8 million dirhams, compared with 20.7 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Education—538.3 million dirhams, compared with 349.8 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Petroleum—1.8 million dirhams, compared with 1.6 million dirhams.
- Ministry of Electricity and Water—29.2 million dirhams, compared with 57.2 million dirhams.
- Other ministries—295.2 million dirhams, compared with 123.8 million dirhams.
- Other expenditures—119 million dirhams, compared with 93.1 million dirhams.

Development expenditures during the 2d quarter of 1988 were approximately 10.5 million dirhams, compared with 8.7 million during the 1st quarter of the current year [1988].

INDIA

Fanaticism in Muslim Politics Deplored

46240013 Calcutta RAVIVAR in Hindi
17 Dec 88 pp 8-9

[Article by Udayan Sharma: "Dangerous Muslim Politics"]

[Text] For the first time since India's independence, Muslim politics is heading toward another Pakistan. Some government leaders and English newspapers appear to be pleased with Sayed Shahabuddin's downfall in the Babri Masjid Action Committee. They have, however, forgotten that despite his innumerable weaknesses and mistakes, this man never wanted to harm India. We can disagree with Sayed Shahabuddin and debate against many of his political goals, but we cannot question his patriotism. The persons who make up the new Babri Masjid Action Committee under the leadership of Gulsha [Ghulam Mohammad Shah] and Imam Bukhari have no concern for the welfare of India's Muslims or India.

These faces belong to the people who can be bought by any internal or external power. These people are ignorant of history and all they care about is money and power. Two unfortunate things will happen if these people take control of Muslim politics. Ironically, only these narrow-minded and greedy leaders will benefit from either of these accidents. Either India will be divided one more time or the role of Muslim politics will become irrelevant. In the first scenario, someone will realize his dream to become another Jinnah. In the second scenario, they will be successful in making deals with Hindu factions. I get scared imagining either of these scenarios. It is important to take action against these leaders desiring another division of India and willing to die to attain their goals. Only those people who are always ready to fight against such useless groups as Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena can and should fight against this group. Who are these people and what did they say in their speeches on 26 November when they met in a convention in Delhi and divided the Babri Masjid Action Committee? It is necessary to scrutinize this. This convention, in which Sayed Shahabuddin's moderate group split off, was inaugurated by Sayed Abdulla Bukhari and presided over by Shiekh Salauddeen Ovaisy. The convention participants included such hard-core factionalists as Zafaryab Jilani, Mohammad Azam, Muzaffar Hussain Kachochavi, G.M. Shah, and Qazi Nisar. Some so-called 'secular' faces were also seen there. We shall talk about them later.

All of these people have sold out to one party or another at one time. It just does not matter to them whether it is Janata, or Lok Dal, or the Congress party. The kind of religious riots that Salauddeen Ovaisy caused between Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad is unparalleled in our history. In his speech at the convention he declared proudly that, "factional elements are causing riots in

various parts of the country." His speech was so venomous that we are unable to reprint it here. Abdulla Bukhari, the head imam of Jama Masjid, who even sells pigeon droppings from his mosque to collect money, has the habit of supporting any leader or party that promises him some money. Can he tell us if he has done anything to help a poor Muslim to this day? Who is Mr Jilani? He announced that any Muslim who has associated with Congress at any time should not be admitted to the Action Committee. First, declaring any political party untouchable is totally wrong. Is it not interesting that this suggestion was made by a person who was begging a chief minister of this very party to attend the marriage of his relative not very long time ago? Mr Kachochavi is an old member of Congress party. He worked very closely with Arun Nehru in 1985. He was the one who had suggested the 'woman bill' to make Muslims happy and having Hindus worship in Babri masjid to satisfy them. There is a cloud on his political horizon now and he is here in the guise of a revolutionary.

The main attraction of the conference was the former chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Ghulam Mohammad Shah, alias Gulsha. Gulsha's political history shows how he has changed his loyalty frequently. He became a supporter of Hindus when he was elected chief minister with the help of Congress and Mufti Mohammad Sayed. He was beginning to see Pakistan as a threat. He was behind all those religious riots and destruction of Hindu temples in Anant Nag and Mattan when he began to lose his seat of power. Even now he believes that Kashmir is India's slave state. There is nothing remarkable about his style of speech either. He, has even begun to believe that Kashmir's annexation to India is unconstitutional. In his speech in Delhi, Gulsha started with criticism of Manu [ancient Indian political scientist]. He said that this country was ruled by one caste for the last 3,000 years. He added that it is not only Muslims, but also Sikhs, Christians, and those living in Tamil Nadu Pradesh and Andhra areas who are fed up with Hindus. Gulsha made erroneous references to Maulana Azad's book in order to condemn Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. He concluded that it has been proved that it was not Jinnah but Nehru and Patel who were responsible for the birth of Pakistan.

There was also an 'innocent' face at this convention. This face belonged to Qazi Nisar, the founder of the Muslim United Front of Jammu and Kashmir. He is one who encourages the flying of Pakistan's flag in Jammu and Kashmir. He openly tries to incite Kashmiris against Hindus and India. He was called "Kashmir's Bhindranwala" when his supporters burned homes belonging to Hindus in 1985-86. Qazi Nisar gave a very inflammatory speech at the convention. He said that if Muslims were strict about their religion, Hindus would not be ruling India as a majority group. He added that Muslims ruled India for 1,000 years. He defended the Kashmiri Muslim youth arrested for possession of weapons by saying that they were not stupid, but forced to such extreme action

by atrocities committed against them by Hindus. He said that Hindus are so selfish and hungry for power that it is a must to use force against them to get our rights.

The most ridiculous face in this conference belonged to Lok Dal's Azam Khan, whose politics can be called opportunistic but never factional. His whole speech was aimed against Maulana Hashmi. Azam Khan seems to have forgotten that his party had helped elect a person to the Lok Sabha who is accused by local Muslims as having personally supervising burnings of their homes and shops in religious riots a few years ago. Azam Khan, however, has no problem in working with the same man in Lucknow.

The debate over Babri Masjid and birth place of Rama had caused a rift between Hindus and Muslims. It was a matter of concern before. But the division of Babri Masjid Action Committee has worsened this situation. RAVIVAR has openly opposed this development from the very beginning. We do not have to repeat what we wrote before. It is not important whether or not Sayed Shahabuddin and his associates will continue to control Muslim politics. The important development to watch is who are the people replacing them and what kind of policy are they following. Is not the logical consequence of their policies another partition of India? There are other people in this group who sell out to various political markets, therefore, we cannot expect anything worthwhile from them. We can declare two things about Sayed Shahabuddin. First, he will not sell out. Second, he wants to lead the Muslims in India as Indian Muslims. Yes, he blundered many times in this effort, but you can argue with him about these mistakes. You cannot, however, even talk with the other leaders such as Ovaisy, Gulsha, and Qazi Nisar. These people never discuss economic and social problems that Muslim are facing. They only talk about the Muslims being against the Hindus. Their politics is based on confrontation and return to this kind of politics will hurt both the Muslim and India.

Let us take a look at those 'secular faces' who support this group of fanatics. One of these, Ram Jethmalani was present on the stage. I think it is unnecessary to talk about Ram Jethmalani because he has no concern for secularism. Comments about him are a waste of time. After his statements about Khalistan, no Muslim need to be told what his views are about Muslims. What amazed us was the presence of Som Pal, a Jan Morcha leader, on the platform. Som Pal is considered as a very intelligent leader. He is an important assistant of V.P. Singh and attended the conference to read his message of good will. It is ironic that in India a politician who gets honored by Pandas [Hindu group] one year runs the next year to a group who are against India's unity just to get some Muslim votes. Mr V.P. Singh said many things in his message. One item stated that the dispute over Babri Masjid and Rama's birth place was started by the government and the government should be asked to solve it.

Which government is Mr Singh talking about? Was not Mr Singh the most important minister of the government when the locks of Babri Masjid were broken? His friend Arun Nehru was the most powerful minister (of internal security affairs). As the minister of internal affairs, he was responsible for this problem. Mr Singh has remembered the government involvement all of a sudden now. Politicians belonging to opposing groups have the right to take shots at each other. The situation here, however, is very serious. These politicians who are happy at the division of Babri Masjid Action Committee, the fall of Sayed Sahabuddin and the rise of fanatics are not aware that they are unwittingly helping the enemies of India's unity. The only ray of hope we have is that India's Muslims will not accept these fanatics or their ideas.

PAKISTAN

Call To Make Pakistan Secular State

46000068d Karachi DAWN in English 28 Dec 88 p 10

[Text] Karachi, 27 December: A seminar on Human rights at the American Centre on Tuesday called for a secular state that would guarantee the rights of all citizens regardless of sex, race or religion.

Seven speakers, including lawyers, journalists and politicians, expressed the hope that the new elected government would uphold political freedom, and the rights of women, workers, students and minorities.

Former Justice Dorab Patel presided over the seminar which was addressed by Naeemul Haq, P. K. Shahani, Shahida Jamil and Sabiha Sumar, Ghazi Salahuddin and Zubeida Mustafa. Larry Corwin, director of the American Centre, compared the proceedings.

Mr Dorab Patel pleaded for a secular state and quoted from Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's speeches in support of his plea.

He paid tributes to the efforts waged by the MRD and PPP in the last 11 years as well as of thousands who had been jailed, hundreds who were flogged and many who died in the struggle against the martial law regime. He hoped the constitutional government would keep up the momentum for human rights and ratify the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Mr Shahani, adviser to the Sind government, said the PPP hoped to bring human rights to every sector of society. According to him, the party had signed the Convention against Genocide and was committed to raising the budget on education to 4.5 percent of the GNP.

He expressed the hope that the United States would make aid to countries conditional on their signing the International Convention of Human Rights, as was practised during the Carter era.

Observing that education was a "right" and not a "privilege," Ms Mustafa said while official literacy in Pakistan was recognised at 26 percent (with 16 percent literacy for women), some of the literates did not meet UNESCO's standards. As a result, some people cited literacy levels in the country to be as low as 8 percent.

Pointing out that only 2.8 percent of the GNP was spent on education, she observed that education had not been accorded a "high priority" by the previous government.

Speaking on women's rights, Ms Sumar was of the opinion that the women's movement in the West had made headway because they were struggling in a secular environment. She referred to Pakistan as a "theocratic state," where opposition to the state was equated with opposition to Islam and God. As a result, she observed, the women's movement stood discredited.

Ms Jamil, who praised the people for rejecting violence and taking the electoral path, noted that the "ball is now in the court of the trustees." She criticised the dissolution of the Baluchistan Assembly and the immediate reelection proposed there saying it "could sow the seeds of alienation."

Mr Haq called upon the Government to take up the issue of repatriation of 200,000 Biharis, put an end to "discrimination against the Ahmediya community" and recognise that the Afghan Mujahideen did not have a "high regard for human rights," which he said was exemplified by the opposition of many of them to women's education.

Mr Salahuddin spoke of human inequities being a part of the social structure. He applauded the relative political freedom given by the government to the opposition, including representation of their point of view in the media.

The speeches were followed by a question-and-answer session.

Centre-Province Relations

46000068c Karachi DAWN in English 28 Dec 88 p 9

[Text] Better late than never is the thought that soonest comes to mind after the Prime Minister's visit to Lahore and the exchanges over tea between her and Mian Nawaz Sharif, the Chief Minister of Punjab. This was the first contact between the two after the elections and is a welcome change from the frostiness and acrimony that have thus far marked their relationship. Reports that as a result of their meeting a modus vivendi has been adopted to resolve any differences that may arise between the Centre and Punjab on administrative and other issues are also to be welcomed. The angry exchanges between the two Governments besides posing real difficulties in the smooth functioning of government, were bringing a bad name to our capacity to work a democratic system. Had these tensions persisted they would have been grist to the mills of those elements who are always happy when democracy

in Pakistan fails. Hopefully, a curtain has been drawn on this estrangement and hopefully there will now be an end to the more-loyal-than-the-king statements that were periodically being issued by loyalists of both sides.

The Prime Minister could not have been more right when she pointed out in Lahore that there was nothing strange or unique in the fact that there was one party in power at the Centre and another in Punjab. Indeed, there isn't. In neighbouring India, if that be not an invidious example to quote, there are many provinces which are being run by non-Congress Governments but whose existence does not bring the affairs of the Union to a halt. There is no reason why Pakistan should not be able to work the same experiment with equal if not greater success since it has the advantage of being less diverse and more homogeneous in many respects than India. But for such arrangements to work tolerance and mutual accommodation have to be woven into the accepted order of things. The verdict of the people has to be accepted and if change is to be sought, it must be through the ballot box. Our trouble is that our experience with democracy is so far only skin-deep. Sound and healthy conventions which add flesh to the bare bones of a constitutional framework have to be developed. There is, however, no reason why we should not be able to make up for lost time and buttress the fragile structure of democracy. This country came into existence through a democratic process and it is only through democracy that it can come into its own. But for democracy to flourish the shadows of our authoritarian past, and its preference for a monolithic order, need to be banished forever.

The need for accommodation, however, applies to both governments, Central and provincial. The former should not consider the ministry headed by Mian Nawaz Sharif as an infringement of its sovereignty; nor should the latter be conditioned to think the worst of any move that emanates from the Centre. A spirit of give-and-take should guide their relationship. If the Prime Minister's visit to Lahore has brought this goal nearer and has removed the element of confrontation and distrust existing between the Centre and Punjab, then it marks an important step forward on our democratic journey. Let us hope for the sake of democracy that there is greater progress along this path and more beneficial harmony between the various components of the present system. For if there is any failure on the part of anyone in this regard, Pakistan will have to pay a price that it cannot afford.

Dismantling the Zia Legacy

46000060b Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Syed Akbar]

[Excerpts] Benazir Bhutto is the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the seat of power in Islamabad from which her father was so unconstitutionally evicted eleven years

ago. With his departure and disputed hanging, the political process for contesting and deciding issues of state and government, even in the thick of unnecessary violence, was also cut short by the midnight coup of General Ziaul Haq against the Constitution on which he had sworn allegiance to the government and his Commander-in-Chief. Benazir Bhutto's assumption of reins of the national administration is also a life-saving therapy, a restoration in the true sense of the term of what was so rudely interrupted in the month of July, 1977.

President

The President, in inviting the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly to form government, has correctly read the Constitution. That Mian Nawaz Sharif and the egregious Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi should quibble and complain against the President's reading, and call it unconstitutional, shows that they continue to believe in the politics of manipulation. Obviously Ghulam Ishaq Khan was not prepared for this, and he has played fair by giving Benazir Bhutto sixty days to prove that she has the House with her. The nomination of the Prime Minister even though late has been as fair as the elections, and in this, it appears from the sour grape statements of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] stalwarts, they were frustrated from doing full justice to their design of winning friends and influencing people by the President's adherence to the Constitution.

In several recent statements of Benazir Bhutto we have read that she is for change. The manifestos, which were photocopies of one another in competition, as extravagant documents of good intentions, may not be worth much. Votes were cast on the basis of a visceral difference between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and IJI. The leader of the PPP inspired hopes of change for the better, and in having suffered at the hands of the late General Zia, she was seen as the champion of freedom, equality of opportunity and democracy. In Mian Nawaz Sharif and his associates were seen those who stood for the Zia status quo, people who were not really for democracy even though they would not refuse the use of the ballot to capture power for conserving privileges won during the eleven years of darkness in the country. The 16 November election, and the subsequent ones which followed in the provinces, were decided by the voters on this emotional note. The fact that the IJI came very near winning the national election is a reminder that the democratic process will have to be saved from those who have allied themselves with it but do not own it really. They had the resource to persuade voters about the rightness of their stand, and will be around to profit from PPP's failures.

In his speech appointing Benazir Bhutto the Prime Minister, which very often sounded self-congratulatory and hortatory in the manner of the late President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan cautioned her against the dismantling of whatever good work may have been done by his predecessor. This is not only because the President has been a part

of the government responsible for the eleven years' political and spiritual malaise that he would like to claim credit for, but also because he would not want the boat of state to be rocked so that it capsizes: he would wish to row it gently in a direction of her choice. There is much wisdom in the advice, even though it should be understood that Benazir Bhutto has to give clear direction as to how and when a start will be made to gradually take apart much of Zia's legacy in most aspects of our life and society. The moral tone and temper in the field of public service encouraged by him has to change. Disrespect for languages holy and worldly, breaking of faith and promises, bending of legal and ethical proprieties, abuse of Islam for personal gains, the degradation of women in the name of claimed ancient tradition, insensitivity towards fairplay, greed for power and material goods, in short all practices which were encouraged by example and words from the top in the last eleven years must eventually go if democracy has to survive. The dismantling of the edifice of cynicism raised during the martial law in the name of religion, which was a travesty of the sacred values of human dignity, personal decency, truthfulness, good neighbourliness, amity and peace inculcated by our faith, if not completed, will leave us playing false to our political and religious values. If change has to register, it is here that it must be demonstrated, not in insincere words but through examples by those on whom the people of the country have entrusted the responsibility to serve them and their interests. Benazir Bhutto will have time and even means to check inflation, lower prices, create new employment opportunities and do all the things she wants to do justifiably for the needy. But first things must come first, when money is not required to accomplish them, and a crusade to improve the moral tone and temper of public life has to have priority. This must begin right away and does not require our ministers, public servants and everybody else to become saints. What it does demand is that we should be decent in conduct and speech, law-abiding at all levels and also try to remain as close to truth as is humanly possible.

Major Change

There is another major change, which would be a blow to General Zia's formula, which fitted democracy with the spirit of a Frankenstein monster, is the repeal of the Eighth Amendment for the restoration of a rightful balance of responsibilities between a directly elected chief executive and the head of the state. Benazir should invite cooperation from the opposition for this, which will also have the advantage of testing its faith either in democracy or in the political legacy of the late President. There has to be a change in the area of legislation which perpetuates the juristic status of women suited to the middle ages but not for the day or for Islam either. This is not the occasion to list all the changes which have to be made in a manner that the final result will be the removal of General Zia's baggage and the erasing of his political and moral imprint from the psyche of the Pakistani nation. Benazir Bhutto's supporters, in voting

her power have given her this mandate, and her domestic agenda has to give priority to the required actions. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan should appreciate that it is necessary to restore people's faith in the democratic process he has so bravely and honestly guided to conclusion. However, we would agree with him that the approach should be through consensus and not through confrontation and polarisation.

Marriage of Convenience

46000060a Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
24 Dec 88 pp 4-5

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai]

[Text] The electorate in NWFP as usual failed to give a decisive verdict forcing the political parties to search for coalition partners. The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad could not succeed in forming the provincial government despite winning 266 seats which were more than those captured either by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] or ANP [Awami National Party]. The urge to keep the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] out of power, brought together the PPP and the ANP in spite of their ideological and political differences. It was a case of strange bedfellows and a marriage of convenience but both parties appeared desperate to share power after having remained in the wilderness for so long. The PPP-ANP coalition has weathered its initial difficulties with the support of independent MPAs [Members of Provincial Assemblies] and is now in the process of consolidating its position. The IJI meanwhile is trying to recover from its earlier reverses by exposing the inexperience of the ruling coalition MPAs in parliamentary affairs in the House.

Any doubts that might have lingered about the strength of the ruling coalition were put to rest when Aftab Sherpao easily won the vote of confidence as leader of the house on 20 December. In fact, he improved upon his tally of votes as the rebel JUI (Fazlur Rahman group) MPA, Pir Sanaullah Banuri also voted for him. As many as 51 MPAs reposed confidence in him but it didn't include his own vote and that of the speaker Barrister Masood Kausar who too belongs to PPP. Thus the ruling alliance practically enjoys the backing of 53 MPAs in a house of 84.

The IJI which was left leaderless on account of Gen Fazle Haq's shocking defeat from a record four provincial seats, has gradually been regrouping its strength. The seven-party alliance was not prepared to confront such a situation as Gen Fazle Haq was absolutely sure of heading the next provincial government. His exit opened the way for Abbotabad's Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan to make his bid for the chief ministership. The former federal and provincial minister, who routed his opponents by huge margins in the elections, however, failed to put his act together. The fractious PML [Pakistan Muslim League] politics of Hazara, which has by now become proverbial, contributed to the dispute over Raja Sikandar Zaman's leadership of

IJI and further weakened its position vis-a-vis the PPP-ANP alliance. The signing of the agreement between PPP and ANP also buried the hopes of IJI in forming the provincial government.

Nobody fathomed, more so the opposition, that the two parties which fought bitterly against each other in the elections would join hands so soon in a coalition government. Next the alliance might seem unnatural but it appears that it would last as both parties desperately need to remain in power and keep their common foes in IJI at bay. The coalition has not been affected by problems like the dissolution of Baluchistan assembly as both parties managed to draft a joint resolution condemning the move. The resolution, however, put the entire blame on Baluchistan chief minister and did not criticise the Federal government. It did, however, call for annulment of 8th Amendment and restoration of 1973 constitution. PPP joined hands later with ANP to reject Kalabagh Dam project and urge the Federal government to build the Basha Dam instead. Presently leaders of the two parties are cozing a lot of warmth for each other and the camaraderie has gradually spilled over to their workers. Contrary to all expectations and IJI efforts the PPP-ANP alliance would most probably be sustained even though Wali Khan is not very happy about it.

Challenge of Unemployment

46000068b Karachi *DAWN in English* 22 Dec 88 p 7

[Text] Unemployment being one of the most pressing problems in Sind, it is but natural for the new Provincial Government to feel somewhat overawed by the urgency and magnitude of the problem involved in job-creation on a large scale. The Chief Minister underlined the seriousness of the problem in his speech winding up the Assembly debate on the revised budget, saying that he was receiving hundreds of job applications and that it was not possible to satisfy all the applicants. He also explained that of nearly 23,000 job opportunities envisaged in the budget, most had been filled by the previous government. However, he was candid when he said that "people are not prepared to wait any longer and we have a challenge before us." This challenge has to be met with courage and realism. It is undeniable that the generous promises made to the educated unemployed and other sections by politicians and parties during the election campaign have raised expectations to unrealistic levels. As Mr Qaim Ali Shah himself admitted, even partial fulfilment of those promises is made difficult by several constraints, including unwillingness of the part of many job seekers to accept lowly posts, the ones that are available: constables in the police department and teachers in rural schools, for instance. Part of the explanation lies in the pervasive spirit of greed and acquisitiveness in society. In this milieu, everyone wants a lucrative job and highly rewarding opportunities and no one is for a hard struggle which offers modest returns initially. This prompted the Chief Minister to tell the job seekers that

they would be accommodated according to their capacity, merit and qualifications. Obviously, a large number of educated youth are almost unemployable having none of the skills and specialities in demand and would still be left without jobs after the limited prospective recruitment in the public sector is over.

Providing employment is, of course, a political commitment but the plain fact is that jobs cannot be created through official edict. We wouldn't have the problem in the first place if it were that easy. Job creation is a function of economic activity. A resort to the familiar practice of creating vacancies in the public sector without regard to their productive utility would be wholly ill-advised. It is good that the Chief Minister has also been stressing that the expectations of the masses and the unemployed could not be realized without the revival of the economy. Indeed, the precariousness of the prevailing economic situation requires utmost caution in dealing with popular expectations about more jobs and better prospects in various professions. There is a limit to what patronage can achieve in the present circumstances, considering that the scale of sinecurism already found in official and public sector organisations is a crippling economic burden. Doling out jobs to those who accost high officials with applications would increase rather than lower the popular sense of frustration and resentment. The problem can only be tackled through a planned effort to gear-up the tempo of economic activity, especially in the private sector which has to absorb the bulk of the unemployed.

Without attempting an analysis of structural distortions in the economy which have fostered mass unemployment, it should be noted that in Sind a bad law and order situation and social and civic unrest have done much to slow down the tempo of economic and business activity and discourage investment. So the immediate task before the Sind Government is to create a stable atmosphere of peace and public order to facilitate economic recovery. So far as the Government sector is concerned, they should concentrate on the promotion of some short and medium-term projects. There is scope for new jobs in the school system and also in the health sector. A proper study should be conducted to find areas in which expansion is possible to achieve economic as well as social gains. It would seem paradoxical that at this stage in our industrial and social development, there should be a substantial number of unemployed engineers and doctors. While expressing concern over growing unemployment of qualified engineers, the President of the Engineers Study Forum has demanded a survey of the unemployed engineers. The scope of such a survey could be broadened to cover all the major professions. It is necessary to quantify the problem before devising elaborate long-term schemes for absorption of the educated unemployed. The problem with most educated youth is that they want white-collar jobs and show no interest in skills which are in short supply and can be very lucrative. With a more practical approach and provision of specially designed training facilities, a sizable section of the

educated youth could find gainful employment as technicians, tailors, plumbers, electricians, furniture-makers, automobile mechanics and so on—trades which have a great scope for expansion.

Writer Sees New Political Era in NWFP
46000058c Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
11 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Dr Mohammad Waseem]

[Text] The NWFP has entered the third phase of its political development since independence. The first phase lasted from 1947 to 1970, characterized by the continuation of pre-independence hostility between pro-Congress and pro-Muslim League forces, as represented by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Qayum Khan. The second phase from 1970 to 1988 is known for weakening of both camps, emergence of a third, relatively unexpected, political force of the mullahs of JUI, and Sherpao's solitary dash into the NWFP politics from the PPP's platform. As older party alignments diluted, and new ones were still in infancy, many went for independent status. The third phase has now started with further weakening of NAP/ANP, relative decline of mullahs, continuity of the pro-establishment elements under the banner of Muslim League, and the surprising emergence of PPP as a decisive factor in the provincial politics.

Potent Force

Although much less so than in Punjab in 1970, NWFP has now entered mass politics era. For 20 years following independence, the NWFP politics revolved around regional godfathers. Political activity was restricted to the party workers. Pakhtun nationalism remained a potent force. But, in the 1970 elections, the steady erosion of the ANP's support base in Peshawar valley was exposed. The process of passing away of the old style tribal leadership of Khans was even more obvious in the southern districts of D.I. Khan, Kohat and Bannu. But here the vacuum could not be filled by a small and weak middle class. Instead, the leadership drifted to the already existing religious leadership. Thus, slackening of primordial loyalties in the sphere of tribal organisation gave way to the rival primary loyalties of religion, galvanized by the JUI under the leadership of Mufti Mahmud. Till 1970, the input from the centre into NWFP politics was restricted to patronage of top leadership, which in turn built a vast clientele structure. From 1973 onwards, the centre took a keen interest in the NWFP politics and tried to give it a shape commensurate with its own social and political thinking. The PPP's incursion into NWFP introduced a political idiom which appealed to the progressive elements of the rapidly urbanizing sections. The growing inter-provincial contacts through transport, business, migration of the Pathan youth to industrial cities outside NWFP in search of jobs, and organizational and ideological work

of the PPP cadres established a firm base for that party in the province. Not surprisingly, NWFP was the only place where PPP made inroads even under a hostile Martial Law regime.

The clue to the rising PPP popularity lies in the social and political change. The ascendancy of a middle class and significant financial input from the Gulf remittances brought about a general rise in economic and administrative issues. In particular, the Peshawar valley has undergone a change in political attitudes because of its exposure to the global currents of arms transfer in the perspective of Afghan war and emergence of black economy thriving on drug trafficking and gun-running. Pakhtun nationalism declined and Wali Khan's constituency shrank accordingly. However, he continued to represent the liberal intelligentsia in its displeasure with the war efforts, of Mujahideen operating from Pakistan's territory and with the refugees' continuing presence in the country. Caught up in the cross currents of diplomacy, economy and war efforts, the people in and around Peshawar have been politically mobilized along national and international issues. It is not surprising that they have returned PPP candidates in elections to the National and NWFP assemblies. In many places, an inter-generational transition is taking place from the NAP to the PPP cadres.

On the other hand, Hazara division with its typically non-Pushto speaking population has all along been a stronghold of Muslim League. However, a strong contingent of independents also operated here during the 1970s. Due to lack of PPP's determined efforts to take up mobilizational work in this area during the Zia regime, the local scene was more receptive to IJI and independents during the November elections. The caretaker government at Peshawar had given clear indications of whom it wanted in the parliament. This division sent a mixed bag of representatives either as IJI ticket-holders or as independents. Away from the mainstream of economic activity, political violence or any other type of national or international involvement, this area has not experienced rapid social or political change. Here, the old pattern seemed to hold on in the recent elections.

Decline

Southern NWFP has presented a somewhat fluid pattern in the past, although here rival political currents seem to undercut each other, producing a no-win situation in the end. The previous decline of NAP/ANP is still holding, while the mullahs' power has recently gone down. On the other hand, both IJI and PPP have made only limited inroads into the area. Indeed, this is a region of slow change, away from the Grand Trunk road, with no industrial activity or construction projects. As for the fourth region of NWFP, the Kohistan area, it is still further removed from the mainstream politics. Here, the November elections have simply rendered the initiative in the hands of the local bureaucracy which got pressure votes out of people.

It seems that the more the political consciousness spreads in this province, the more the PPP will expand its constituency. As we have seen, the PPP has got maximum seats in an area which is most developed in terms of interaction with the outside world. Its performance declined in successive regions of less political consciousness. A second reason for PPP's relatively good showing in the later stages of the campaign is the leadership of Aftab Sherpao, which emerged from the political struggle of the last 11 years. On the contrary, the leadership factor in the establishment circles was far more confusing. First it was Gen (Retd) Fazle Haq, then Arbab Jehangir and then again Fazle Haq. They operated mainly from the governor's house or chief minister's house. The fact that they did not operate from the public platform cost them in the politically mobilized region of Peshawar region. After the elections, neither Fazle Haq could carry the baggage of defeat and find dependable allies for government formation, nor Arbab Jehangir could make inroads into the coalitional arrangements.

Has the NWFP finally crossed the rubicorn and joined the mainstream politics of the country, sharing its ideological trends, economic and political issues and national leadership? It looks as if the November elections have at least opened the way for penetration of the larger forces from outside the province. Its leading political region is already linked with the rest of the country through commercial, educational and ideological channels. It can be observed that at least in the PPP support region, the era of mass politics has already dawned. This situation is akin to the 1970 elections in Punjab when central Punjab and canal colony areas were widely mobilized along anti-establishment lines and economic and administrative issues, while Northern Punjab remained bound to clan politics. However, the pace of socio-political change in various regions of NWFP may be slower than in Punjab. While the patterns of leadership emerging out of the November elections may hold on for some time, the time is on the side of political forces such as PPP, which are expected to address the economic and administrative issues directly. We can therefore expect a steady growth of liberal trends in politics of NWFP during the coming months and years.

Commentary Examines Foreign Policy Priorities 46000057b Karachi DAWN in English 14, 15 Dec 88

[Article by Afzal Mahmood]

[14 Dec 88 p 7]

[Text] Pakistan's destiny has never been so closely linked to its foreign policy as it is today. The manner in which international relations are conducted by the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and the way it responds to the innumerable challenges that it is facing internationally may determine the future of our country.

The year 1988 has been a turning point in international relations and we have to take note of the processes of accommodation, adjustment and change that are currently taking place all around us: the detente between the superpowers resulting in a moderation of their competition for international influence; the thaw in Sino-Soviet relations; the moves to improve Sino-Indian ties; and New Delhi acquisition of military capability of threatening proportions. The principal foreign policy challenges facing the new prime minister are: the question of Afghanistan, the nuclear issue, relations with India and the future pattern of ties with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Since December 1979, when the Soviet forces entered Afghanistan, the Afghan question has been the single issue that has dominated Pakistan's foreign policy. By and large, the problems arising from the Soviet invasion produced their own compulsions: a close relationship with the United States became inevitable; the 3 million Afghan refugees had to be provided food and shelter; and those Afghans who wanted to fight the foreign invaders had to be provided with the means to do so.

In an interview with the TIME magazine of 14 November, answering a question as to whether she would dilute Zia's policy of wholeheartedly supporting the Afghan resistance, Ms Benazir Bhutto made it clear that she would abide by the agreements made by the Pakistan Government and there should not be any fear that there would be a change in the policy with PPP victory. Addressing her first press conference after assumption of office, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto made it clear that her government stands for continuity of Pakistan's policy on the Afghanistan issue. The following appear to be the principal reason for opting for continuity in Afghan policy.

Pakistan's geo-strategic interests require the reestablishment of a truly independent Afghanistan which is neutral, non-aligned and not anti-Pakistan. Only can such as Afghanistan provide us the much needed strategic depth in regard to both the Soviet Union and India. Therefore, no government in Islamabad can afford to settle for an Afghanistan which remains a Soviet or Indian satellite after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country.

Moreover, events in Afghanistan have now reached a stage when it is difficult for Pakistan to turn its back on them. Half the Soviet troops have already been withdrawn from Afghanistan and the remaining half will leave the country within the next 2 months or by the 15th of February at the latest. Recent reports from Kabul indicate that government forces are slowly crumbling and the Kabul regime may not last by next spring. Moscow seems to be preparing to wash its hands of the Najib regime. It is not without significance that on 13 November Moscow T.V. telecasts a statement which said that "the situation inside Afghanistan is serious and that Najib government has lost ground and has failed to gain popularity."

The recent contacts between the Soviets and the Mujahideen leaders, at Pakistan's initiative, constitute an important development and may pave the way for a broad-based government in Kabul, leading to a political solution of the Afghan problem. The seven-party Afghan alliance (IUAM) has proposed the formation of a Shoora in Afghanistan which will prepare for an interim government after 15 February, by which date all the Soviet troops will have left Afghanistan. The interim government will draft a constitution and arrange for elections leading to the formation of a permanent government.

The proposed 400-member Shoora will include 70 representatives of the IUAM and the rest will be taken from inside Afghanistan. The Mujahideen have also reportedly agreed to accept non-communist and non-PDPA people in the Shoora. The recent contacts between the Afghan Mujahideen and the Soviet officials in Saudi Arabia, which tantamount to an indirect recognition of IUAM, have brightened peace prospects in Afghanistan.

There is no question that the key to a breakthrough on the question of an interim government is with the Soviet Union. It may be observed that Moscow's own long-term interests in the region will be served by an accommodation with the Mujahideen because only they can ensure peace and stability on the Soviet Union's southern border and a non-aligned and good-neighbourly Afghanistan. On their part, the IUAM can vastly improve the climate for an Afghan consensus on interim government by proclaiming a general amnesty to all their opponents excepting those who may be found guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

History teaches us that outside attempts to dabble in Afghan politics have invariably led to disastrous results and, therefore, we must leave the formation of a government in Kabul, after the Soviet withdrawal, entirely to the Afghans. Our geostrategic interests will be adequately protected if (a) all the Soviet forces are withdrawn from Afghanistan; (b) the Afghan refugees return to their homes with dignity and honour; (c) and the people of Afghanistan are given the right to determine their own future through their own free will.

Nuclear issue: Opposition to Pakistan's nuclear programme has come mainly from the United States and India. But the American concern about Pakistan's nuclear programme has been due to reasons which, owing to the Jewish lobby, have more to do with West Asia than with the Indian subcontinent. If Washington is less agitated over New Delhi's nuclear programme the reason perhaps is that the Americans think that India may never have a good reason to cooperate in the nuclear weapons field with any Arab country. However, it is gratifying to note that Americans are becoming increasingly convinced that our nuclear programme's sole aim is to ensure the country's military security against its powerful south-eastern neighbour. It may be recalled that the sub-committee of the powerful U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee drafted a resolution in

December 1987, adopting, for the first time, a regional approach to the nuclear issue. The sub-committee's recommendation, adopted by the full Senate Appropriations Committee stated:

"The committee shares the conviction that the nuclear non-proliferation issue in South Asia can only be resolved through a regional approach. The Senate must face the fact that the root cause of the nuclear problem in South Asia is competition between India and Pakistan. It is precisely this competition which negates on-going efforts on the part of the United States to resolve the nuclear issue."

The Indian criticism of Pakistan's nuclear programme is hypocritical. After all, what Pakistan is doing now is what India accomplished way back in 1974. According to a report published early this year by the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for Peace, India has at present the capability to manufacture 100 to 200 atomic bombs. It produces a substantial amount of unsafeguarded plutonium for the manufacture of 15 to 13 more bombs a year. In addition to that, India has obtained a large number of nuclear-carrier aircraft and has acquired the capability of producing intermediate-range missiles.

It may be mentioned that India has not responded at all to any of the following Pakistani proposals to cool the nuclear arms race in South Asia:

- (a) Simultaneous acceptance by India and Pakistan of the Non-Proliferation Treaty or comprehensive IAEA safeguards;
- (b) Mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities;
- (c) Joint declaration by India and Pakistan renouncing nuclear weapons;
- (d) Creation of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in South Asia (Pakistan has also proposed the convening of a conference under UN auspices on nuclear non proliferation in South Asia);
- (e) A bilateral Indo-Pakistan nuclear test ban treaty.

Under the circumstances, as long as Pakistan feels threatened by India's conventional military forces and nuclear potential, leaders in Islamabad will have little choice but to seek the protection of a nuclear deterrence, even if it remains undeclared. However, it is still possible to maintain the nuclear status quo and simultaneously address the underlying security concerns that have made nuclear arms attractive for both New Delhi and Islamabad. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi can cool the nuclear arms race through a step-by-step process of negotiations and by a series of confidence-building measures such as formalising the two countries' understanding that they will not attack each other's nuclear plants and establishing a joint military commission to discuss limits on peace-time troop deployments.

Relations With India

For nearly 40 years, the central foreign policy issue for Pakistan has been its relationship with India. Except for a brief interval of the Janata government (1977-79), relations between the two countries have vacillated between tension and open hostility. The Janata interlude was perhaps the brightest period of Indo-Pakistan relations. Mr Morarji Desai went out of his way to heal wound and help Pakistan get over its mistrust of the big neighbour. He supported Pakistan's bid to get into the Non-aligned Movement (earlier Pakistani efforts were frustrated by Mrs Gandhi in 1970 and 1976). Mr Desai did not object to Pakistan's sovereign right to acquire sophisticated weapons for its defence. He even conceded Pakistan's right to carry out its nuclear programme. When Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygin urged Desai to teach Pakistan a lesson because of the border crossings by the Afghan Mujahideen in their struggle against the communist regime of Nur Mohammed Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, the Soviet leader was rebuffed by the Indian Prime Minister.

Can India and Pakistan come to terms with each other's existence? Will it be possible for the two countries to overcome 4 decades of bitterness and suspicion and move towards an era of trust and cooperation? If ever there was an opportunity to mend fences, it has presented itself after the recent general elections in Pakistan. For the first time Pakistan and India have democratically elected leaders, belonging to the same post-colonial generation, who are not beholden to the collective past of their nations.

The sheer size of India makes it a preeminent power in South Asia. No one can deny it this status. What, however, cannot be accepted is New Delhi's ambition to dominate its neighbours and establish its hegemony over the region. India must understand that there are limitations to its pre-eminence and it can no more dominate South Asia than the United States can prevail against Central American nationalism. The root-cause of all our bilateral problems has been India's unabashed "Big Brother" attitude towards her smaller neighbours.

[15 Dec 88 p 7]

[Text] The scenario in South Asia can change in no time if New Delhi, taking a leaf out of Jakarta's book, is willing to follow a policy of benign detachment which is different from condescension.

Efforts to improve Indo-Pakistan relations will no doubt receive the urgent attention of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Tension between the two countries can be defused through diplomacy. It is alarming that relations between India and Pakistan have become so acrimonious that frank and free dialogue between the two governments to rationalise bilateral relations has become a thing of the past. An unprecedented opportunity to break the ice and start a meaningful dialogue on the problems bedeviling their relations will present itself when Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi meet for the first time during

SAARC summit later this month. The forthcoming SAARC summit in Islamabad can provide an historic opportunity to the two leaders to break the stalemate and start a meaningful dialogue on the problems plaguing their relations.

Relations With United States

Being a democratically elected leader, whose legitimacy has not been tarnished by military coup or assassination or electoral fraud, Ms Bhutto will enjoy immense advantage over her predecessors in her dealings with the leaders of Western democracies, particularly the United States. With the beginning of democratic process and installation of a popularly elected government in Islamabad, an unsavoury contradiction in our relations with the world's greatest democracy has been removed.

Though there have been ups and downs in Pakistan-U.S. relations, every government in Pakistan has been cognizant of the primary importance of the United States for the security needs of the country. Ms Benazir Bhutto has time and again affirmed her determination to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States. It may be observed that Republican presidencies have been marked by close friendly relations between the United States and Pakistan. It is, therefore, hoped the election of Vice-President Bush as the 41st president of the United States will ensure continuity in U.S. foreign policy as far as Pakistan is concerned.

However, we have to keep in mind that it was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that caused a dramatic upturn in Pakistan-U.S. relations, resulting in a new kind of relationship between the two countries. Therefore, it will not be realistic to assume that after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the strategic importance of Pakistan will remain undiminished. It appears that first priority in the domain of foreign relations for Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto will be to ensure that Pakistan-U.S. bilateral ties are not weakened in the post-withdrawal period.

As already discussed, the nuclear issue will present an important challenge for the new prime minister. Washington's anxiety on this score is likely to become more pronounced after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. The waiver granted by the U.S. Congress on the nuclear issue in respect of aid to Pakistan is due to expire in early 1990. Pakistan's nuclear programme is likely to resurface when the question of granting another waiver comes up in the U.S. Congress. But Pakistan can now reasonably expect that, being a democratically elected prime minister, Ms Bhutto will succeed in persuading the Bush Administration and the American congress not to let the nuclear issue constrict the aid aspect of the Pakistan-U.S. relationship.

The year 1989 may see an acceleration in the processes of adjustment and change taking place internationally. The forthcoming visit of Mr Rajiv Gandhi to China, the first ever by an Indian prime minister in more than 30 years, may lead to improvement in Sino-Indian relations. The Sino-Soviet summit, expected in a few months' time, is likely to result in normalisation of relations between the

Soviet Union and our most trusted ally, China. Recognising the fallacies of the past, Mr Gorbachev is expected to further scale down Moscow's overstretched commitments in Asia and Africa. Detente between the two superpowers will deepen further, thereby moderating their competition for international influence.

These geostrategic developments, which can only be ignored at our peril, will call for a new dimension to our foreign policy. Sagacious statesmanship, based on a shrewd comprehension of international situation, and skilled diplomacy can mould the present uncertainties into a more positive and assured future for our country.

Time for a Policy of Goodwill

46000068a Karachi DAWN in English 29 Dec 88 p 7

[Article by A. M. Sadullah]

[Text] The stereo-typed approach in our relations to India needs to be reshaped. This would be a long-term exercise in patience, perseverance and mutual goodwill for which no better opportunity could exist than the one created now with two young leaders at the helm of their countries.

In Pakistan's turbulent political history, the general elections in November 1988 mark a watershed. When we consider that it is only the third general election in 41 years of Pakistan's existence, we get an idea of the prolonged period of military rule which held the country in a firm grip. Ms. Benazir Bhutto had to traverse a long, arduous journey for 11 years before reaching the goal of democracy.

And yet nobody can deny that her victory and the eventual triumph of democracy was somewhat fortuitous brought about by the sudden death of General Zia. True, the date of the general election was fixed by the late President while in full command and control. But his idea of democracy was, at best, a cross between authoritarianism and democracy with himself at the top wielding dictatorial power. It is no secret that one of his reasons to hold elections on a non-party basis was to deny power to the PPP which was the only progressive political organisation in the country with a mass appeal and a vision firmly set for the restoration of democracy. Ms Bhutto's installation as Pakistan's Prime Minister is a rich reward, somewhat belated though, and a measure of her firm dedication to the cause of democracy.

It is strange, even ironical, that a woman, in the full bloom of youth should be chosen by the people to lead a country, where for eleven years the rising tide of religious fundamentalism was pushing the country towards theocracy by misrepresenting history and even the *raison d'être* of Pakistan; and dictatorship thrived through the exploitation of religion.

Although Ms Bhutto is the only politician to enjoy support in all the four provinces of Pakistan, she is unlikely to find her new position, as head of democratically elected government, readily acceptable to a section whose faith in parliamentary democracy is lukewarm if not doubtful.

There are two elements of minor importance though, in the country, legacies of the past regime, who despite Ms Bhutto's undoubted qualities as a political leader, with a favourable national verdict to govern, find it hard emotionally to accept her as the country's leader. These comprise a section of the fundamentalist clergy and their reactionary supporters to whom it is difficult to accept a woman as head of the government. The second group comprises the vested interest which has grown up during the last eleven years' rule of Zia, reportedly keen to keep his tradition and pattern of rule alive.

Punjab, the biggest province of Pakistan, is to be ruled by a rightist party which fought the general elections against its principal contender, the PPP. The IJI which represents the opposition at the centre to the PPP is, however, the ruling party in Punjab.

Punjab, by any stretch of imagination, is not properly represented in the federal setup. The bulk of the PPP's strength in the National Assembly still comes from Punjab, though the PPP's dominance of Punjab which characterised the Bhutto regime of the seventies is no longer there.

This state of affairs, however, has in no way led to any feeling of political pessimism in Islamabad mainly due to the dynamic quality of the leadership at the centre. Indeed, Mr Bhutto is fully alive to the daunting reality of political pluralism. As, she said, the more challenging the task before her, the more her desire and ability to accept the challenge in a forthright manner.

Although this new feature in our limited political experience is not unknown in the working of political democracy, particularly in third world countries, its crucial test will lie in how the contending political leaderships in the centre and Punjab react to the reality of the changed political scenario. Happily there are indications of a correct and fruitful relations developing between the centre and all provinces.

A two-party system in political democracy or political plurality in parliamentary democracy can co-exist where peaceful acceptance of political dissent and tolerance of dissenting political views is acceptable in a spirit of mutual goodwill which democracy breeds.

The effort of both the groups should, therefore, be harnessed towards a meaningful co-existence rather than toward destabilisation of the political adversary. It is in the national interest that both sides should pursue such a course with an unquestioned willingness on the part of the province to acknowledge, in a forthright manner, the stewardship of the leader of the party installed at the Centre by popular verdict. If any other course is pursued it will belie hopes of a fruitful co-operation in the overall national interest, justifying the prophecy of skeptics, of political instability and confrontation.

Besides, the delicate problem created by that of political pluralism, the new government in Islamabad is faced with a host of internal problems. The ethnic division, the rapid deterioration of law and order, the Afghan problem resulting in the Klashnikov and the drug menace, the unstable economy, the huge national debt, inadequate health and education facilities are some of them which add to a basketful of worries for even the most astute and highly experienced leader.

The great jubilation that marked the accession to power of Ms Bhutto was an indication of mass euphoria heralding the triumph of democracy and the demise of authoritarianism.

Grave and urgent though these problems are, claiming the new government's prior attention, there are, however, two aspects of our foreign policy—India and Afghanistan—which need to be given, in due course, a new look. The stereo-typed approach in our relations to India needs to be reshaped. This, no doubt, would be a long-term exercise in patience, perseverance and mutual goodwill for which no better opportunity could exist than the one created now with two young unprejudiced leaders, Ms Bhutto and Mr Rajiv Gandhi, at the helm of their respective countries, untainted by any direct contact with the scars of communal hatred and revenge prevalent at the time of partition.

Even for liberal-minded leaders, like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the word Pakistan was an anathema. And yet soon after Pakistan was accomplished, he had the vision to realise the supreme importance of coming to terms with the realities of the region. He said "It is inevitable that India and Pakistan should grow closer to each other or else they will come into conflict."

The need is to bury the hatchet of mutual distrust and acrimony of the past.

The peaceful restoration of democracy in Pakistan will, perhaps provide further incentive to the two young leaders to work for harmony and good-neighbourly relations. The rightwing Hindus in India remain obdurately opposed to gestures of peace and friendship towards Pakistan as much as some rightwing Muslims here resent friendly overtures towards India. Can the two dynamic young leaders, firmly devoted to democracy, which postulates peace and good neighbourliness, succeed in steering their respective countries toward an enduring peaceful relationship? Some sort of a beginning could be made at the summit in Islamabad due this month.

The Geneva Pact seems to have rusted and a fresh breakthrough of the type envisaged by Mr Gorbachev with the help of U.S. and Pakistan is needed. The U.S. must be persuaded to come to terms with the grim realities of the present day and change their stand of "positive symmetry" to one of "negative symmetry" helping the formation of a broadbased government in Kabul. Without it peace seems unlikely.

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